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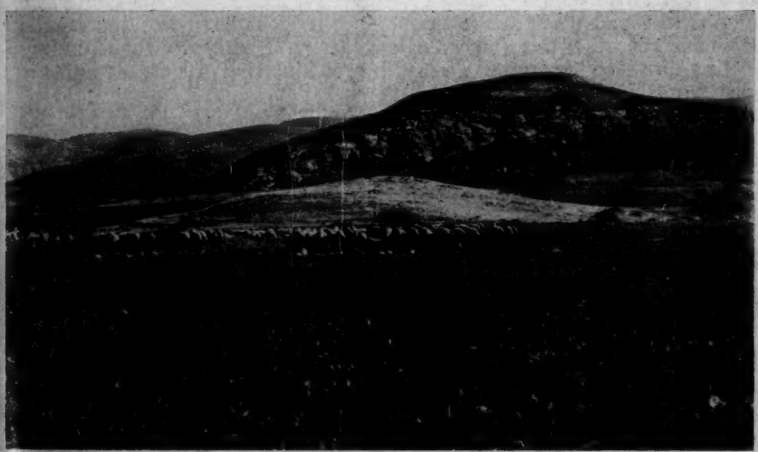

Looking ESE at Tell el-Meqbereh and Tell Abū Kharaz (Jabesh-gilead) above it (photo by Nelson Glueck, print by S. J. Schweig).

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FROM THE PRESIDENT'S DESK

Our biggest news in recent months has been Dr. Glueck's surprise visit. Having finished a definite portion of his Transjordan survey, he tells me, he suffered such an overwhelming attack of homesickness that he sought an opportunity to come home for a little while, and the way opened up more quickly than he had dared to hope—so quickly, in fact, that he reached America ahead of his last letter, which was written before he knew that he would be able to come at all. Our members will read a fascinating account of his amazing trip in the news-letter he has written since his return. He reports that the School in Jerusalem is in excellent condition. After enjoying a well deserved vacation with his family, he intends to spend most of the time before he goes back working on the notes and reports of his archaeological survey. Perhaps, without unduly putting him "on the spot," I may drop a hint that we expect another book from him before long.

Speaking of books, let me announce that we have chosen for this year's special to our Associate Members the new book by Chester C. McCown, *The Ladder of Progress in Palestine* (Harper, 1943). Having long been associated with our Jerusalem school as student, annual professor, and director, Dr. McCown needs no letters of commendation to our members. They may be pleasantly surprised, however, by his ability to combine a great deal of factual information with human interest. Even readers well informed about Palestinian archaeology will learn much from this book. Excellent illustrations add not a little to its interest.

M. B.

THE INFORMAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE IN JERUSALEM

July 10-11, 1943

In early August the director of the School in Jerusalem, Dr. Nelson Glueck, returned unexpectedly to this country, after a three-day flight from Cairo. He is expected to spend two or three months in this country

before returning to Palestine. Thanks to his courtesy we are able to publish the following account of a private meeting held in Jerusalem in July, for the purpose of breaking ground in preparation for a more formal meeting after the War. A group of resident archaeologists meeting in Jerusalem May 31st, 1943, appointed a small committee consisting of Professors Glueck (chairman), de Vaux and Sukenik to organize an informal gathering, to which selected archaeologists known to be in the Near East were invited. It was understood that the meeting was an unofficial scholarly conference, intended solely as a means of securing expressions of opinion from scholars of different nationalities and interests. The committee of three then drafted a letter of invitation, sent out June 2nd. Response was unexpectedly hearty, though a number of men in official position felt that their participation in an unofficial conference of this kind might be misunderstood. Let us hope that this informal meeting may stimulate similar meetings in different countries and lead to further concrete proposals for eventual international action!

LARGER COMMITTEE FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE, JULY 10-11, 1943

Dr. Nelson Glueck, *Director, American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem; Chairman.*
Professor Frank Brown, *Yale University.*
M. E. M. Chehab, *Conservateur du Musée National Libanais, Beirut.*
Professor K. A. C. Creswell, *Professor of Moslem Architecture, Fouad I University, Cairo.*
Mr. P. Dikaios, *Deputy Director of Antiquities, Cyprus.*
M. M. Dunand, *Directeur, Service des Antiquités, Syria and Lebanon.*
Mr. Lankester Harding, *Chief Curator of Antiquities, Transjordan.*
Dr. Zaki Hassan, *Assistant Professor for Moslem Art, Fouad I University, Cairo.*
Mr. J. H. Iliffe, *Curator, Palestine Archaeological Museum.*
M. Jean Lauffray, *Conservateur du Musée National Syrien, Aleppo.*
Prof. L. A. Mayer, *Rector and Professor of Near Eastern Art and Archaeology, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.*
Major Oliver Myers.
Mr. Geoffrey Shipton, *Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.*
Prof. E. L. Sukenik, *Professor of Palestinian Archaeology, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.*
Père R. de Vaux, O. P., *Ecole Biblique et Archéologique, Jerusalem.*

AGENDA

Introductory Remarks.

1. Licensed archaeological excavations to be permitted in all countries on uniform conditions.
2. International documentation; nomenclature.
3. a) Establishment and development of separate or international archaeological institutions in each country, with such institutions in each country pooling when necessary manpower, resources, equipment and libraries.

b) The question whether government aid should be given to or through such archaeological institutions.

c) Provisions for training students; prospects of careers in archaeology for them through state financed excavations or otherwise.

4. Desirability of a master plan for the next five or ten years.

5. A Council for Near Eastern Archaeology.

Resolution on Agenda No. 1.

Antiquities found within the boundaries of a modern state have an international, as well as a national interest. They should, therefore, be subject to an international convention, freely entered into by all concerned, and embodying the following recommendations:

1. In order to meet the higher interests of archaeology and international collaboration, the State shall endeavour to encourage excavations by granting liberal and equable conditions, guaranteeing without distinction of nationality to every learned institution, according to national legislation, the possibility of competing for excavation licenses.

2. It is desirable that the conditions imposed on the excavator should be those stipulated by the ordinary laws of the country and that, in consequence, the concession contract should as far as possible refer to those laws and avoid the unnecessary formulation of specific and individual requirements.

3. Excavation licenses shall be issued only to institutions which offer sound scientific, moral and financial guarantees of a nature to ensure that the excavations undertaken will be completed according to the terms of the concession contract and within the time stipulated therein or during the maximum legal period for which it may be renewed, and of a nature to ensure the performance of the stipulations under section 5 below.

4. The right to excavate shall be accompanied by guarantees regarding time and security, such as will enable excavators to work under favorable conditions and protect them from unjustifiable cancellation of the license, especially in cases where they are obliged temporarily to suspend operations for reasons which are recognized as genuine.

5. The conference considers it highly desirable that governments should recognize and embody in the laws of their country the following principles calculated to further the true interests of archaeology and the international collaboration necessary to those interests.

a) It is essential that the objects found in the course of excavation should be set apart, in the first place, for the formation, in the museums, wherever they exist, of the country where the excavations are carried out, of complete collections fully representative of the civilization, history and art of that country. Such collections should be fully available for purposes of examination and study.

b) In order to encourage archaeological studies in other countries by the distribution of original remains, the national authorities should present the excavator with a fair share of his finds. This share shall likewise,

as far as possible, be representative of the civilization, history and art of the country.

c) In order that the aim of section b above may be attained, it is desirable that the internal laws of the country concerned should recognize the principle that objects may be ceded or exchanged, or deposited for the benefit of foreign institutions.

d) The handing over of finds to the excavator or their entrustment to him on deposit imposes on him the obligation to place them in public collections so that they may be available for the purpose of examination and study, except where, by agreement with the national authorities, they may be otherwise disposed of.

e) The granting to the excavator of objects which form a whole carries with it the obligation to respect that unity.

f) Excavator's scientific ownership of his finds.—The right to excavate implies an obligation on the Government granting that right to guarantee to the excavator the scientific ownership of his finds; it also imposes on the excavator the obligation to publish, within the period stipulated in the concession contract, or in the absence of such a clause, within a reasonable period, the result of his work. Should he not publish his results within a reasonable period, at least in scientifically adequate preliminary fashion, it is recommended that no further permission be given him to excavate till his publication has been completed. It is desirable that the Department of Antiquities and excavator should, either during or at the end of each excavation expedition or season, agree as to the best method of bringing the main results to the notice of the public.

Resolution on Agenda No. 2.

(Based in part on Section V [Organization of International Documentation] of the International Conference on Excavations held by the International Museums Office of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Cairo in March 1937.)

1. The organization, for the guidance of excavators, of an international Service of Documentation and Information at the Department of Art and Archaeology of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. Such documentation to deal with the administrative, legislative, and technical problems of excavation, as they appeared on the agenda and developed in the course of the Jerusalem Conference proceedings.

2. a) This documentation shall be collected and diffused by the review *Mouseion*, the official organ of the Department of Art and Archaeology of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

b) The same or another international publication should be supplied with reports from all excavators annually for publication in its pages.

3. This same Department shall keep an international register of members or archaeological expeditions and experts, classified according to the questions in which they specialize and mentioning their qualifications and previous activities.

4. The organization at research institutes, universities and museums, of post-graduate courses on excavation technique, suggested by the proceedings of the Conference.

5. The assembling, in all important museums, of ceramic records, in the form of collections of fragments. With a view to the teaching and preparation of excavation work, it is recommended that such ceramic records should adequately represent all the civilizations of which objects are shown in museum.

6. The national archaeological services should place their documentary material at the disposal of excavators who have applied for and been granted a concession for a given site.

7. Publishers of scientific journals and works dealing with archaeological research and written in a language little used should, whenever possible, adopt the practice of adding an abstract, or at least a translation of the table of contents, in a more widely used language.

8. A Committee should be set up in each country, representative of all excavators working in that country, to publish corpora of already discovered material and to publish addenda from time to time as may be necessary.

The most advanced methods of recording shall be explored by them and laid down as guidance to the excavators of the form in which the latter should submit their drawings and descriptions. Such methods will naturally change from time to time as technique develops.

A member of each of the above committees shall be delegated to a central committee to coordinate the methods and nomenclature to be employed in these corpora and in archaeological records generally.

Resolution on Agenda Numbers 3a, 3b, 3c.

3a) The establishment and development of international archaeological institutions in each country, to the exclusion of individual national institutions, is not considered desirable, because it is felt that such international institutions would stifle healthy competition and initiative, but existing national institutions should continue and be developed, and friendly co-operation between them should be encouraged to the full. Some form of specialization by the different institutes might be useful.

3b) The primary concern of the state is the conservation of antiquities and monuments, but in matters of research and in view of the cultural and economic value to a country of archaeological activities, archaeological institutions have a claim to government help.

3c) An academic training is necessary for all students, but a thorough training in the technique of practical field archaeology is absolutely essential, to which end every expedition should be prepared to accept and train one or two students. The ability to handle labour is a very important point, as is also a working knowledge of the technique of various arts and crafts in order to interpret correctly the discoveries. Training in field archaeology should be of not less than two years' duration.

Resolution on Agenda No. 4.

This conference recommends that the Near Eastern Council at its first

meeting should formulate plans for post-war archaeology in the Near East.

This conference wishes to draw the attention of the Near Eastern Council when established to the desirability of the following action:

1) That it should recommend to the departments of antiquities and interested scientific institutions that they should select certain areas, and important sites of all periods, for excavation in order that known lacunae may be filled.

2) That it should survey the whole Near Eastern field and its cultural connections in the widest possible way with a view to solving the main present outstanding problems of Near Eastern history and prehistory by excavation according to a scientific plan.

3) That it should recommend to the departments of antiquities that they list and make a thorough survey of sites in immediate danger of destruction and draw the attention of all prospective excavators to these sites.

Resolution on Agenda No. 5.

1) That all those invited to this conference together with other eminent archaeologists from neighbouring countries be invited to meet as soon as circumstances permit to elect a Near Eastern Council.

2) That a temporary executive committee be elected here and now to carry on in the meantime.

3) That the people invited to become members of the Near Eastern Council be asked to form regional committees for their areas as soon as possible.

TEMPORARY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ELECTED TO CARRY OUT RESOLUTIONS OF CONFERENCE JULY 10-11, 1943

Dr. Nelson Glueck, Chairman	M. M. Dunand
Professor Frank Brown	Mr. J. H. Iliffe
Professor K. A. C. Creswell	Professor L. A. Mayer
Mr. P. Dikaios	Père R. de Vaux, O. P.

SOME ANCIENT TOWNS IN THE PLAINS OF MOAB

NELSON GLUECK

In two previous articles in the BULLETIN [1] were outlined the main results of the writer's archaeological survey of the north half of the east side of the Jordan Valley. Since then, during January and February, 1943, the writer, accompanied again by Rashîd Ḥamîd of the Transjordan Department of Antiquities, has been able to supplement this survey by exploring archaeologically the main extent of the Wâdī Yâbis

[1] No. 89, pp. 2-6; No. 90, pp. 2-23.

and the continuation of the east side of the Jordan Valley from ed-Dâmieh as far as the northeast end of the Dead Sea.

A reëxamination of Tell el-Meqbereh, overlooking the Wâdī Yâbis at the point where this *wâdī* emerges from the hills and begins to thread its way westward to the Jordan through the Ghôr, yielded additional quantities of EB and EI sherds. A further discovery was made which adds considerable weight to the location here of Jabesh-gilead. Approximately 200 meters from the base of Tell el-Meqbereh is the base of a high, completely isolated, flat-topped hill to the east. A climb up the only reasonably accessible, but still steep, SW side of the hill revealed that its flattish top had once been completely surrounded by a great stone wall, large sections of which can still be clearly traced. Despite a luxuriant growth of weeds, a considerable quantity of sherds was found, duplicating those found at Tell el-Meqbereh. This fortified hilltop is Tell Abū Kharaz, which completely dominates the approaches to the Wâdī Yâbis as it emerges from the eastern hills and winds its way westward through the Jordan Valley. Although there is an excellent view from Tell el-Meqbereh, beyond Tell el-Ḥuṣn (Beth-shan), the view from the top of Tell Abū Kharaz is incomparably finer. Tell Abū Kharaz and Tell el-Meqbereh must be considered as one site, the latter being the residential section of the great fortress towering directly above it. This double site is the only one which agrees completely with the biblical data regarding Jabesh-gilead. It will be remembered that the men of Jabesh-gilead went one night to Beth-shan, recovered the bodies of Saul and his sons, and returned to Jabesh-gilead to bury the bodies. It is about a four hour's fast walk from our site to Beisân.

The examination of all sites near Wâdī Yâbis has now shown that of all previous candidates for identification with Jabesh-gilead,[2] only one might lay claim to serious consideration—Tell el-Maqlûb. Miryamîn and Deir el-Ḥalâweh, are not earlier than Roman. Tell el-Maqlûb, SE of Kefr 'Abîl and directly overlooking the Wâdī Yâbis from the north, has earlier pottery and is a fine site, situated on a commanding hill-top overlooking a bend in the Wâdī Yâbis, the banks of which at this point broaden out on either side and are planted to fruit-trees, and to grain in season. The flattish hilltop was once surrounded by a strong outer wall, some clear vestiges of which are still visible. The sherds found there are EB I-II, MB I-IIA, Iron I-II, and Roman-Byzantine. Despite the presence of pottery of early periods on Tell el-Maqlûb and its location by the Wâdī Yâbis, fulfilling two conditions prerequisite for identification with Jabesh-gilead, it is out of the question. News from the Jordan Valley penetrates but slowly and accidentally into the highlands with their isolated valleys, in one of which is Tell el-Maqlûb. The residents of Tell el-Maqlûb in the Early Iron Age might not have learned for days of what had transpired at Beth-shan. Their modern successors know practically nothing of what goes on in Beisân today, while the Arabs living in the Ghôr know within a few hours what transpires there. Furthermore, from Tell el-Maqlûb to Beisân is a trip of at least four and a half to five hours each way. The men of Tell el-Maqlûb could scarcely

[2] BULLETIN, No. 89, pp. 2 f.

have reached Beth-shan and returned the same night, laden with the corpses of Saul and his sons.

A survey of the east side of the Jordan Valley between ed-Dâmieh and the Wâdī Nimrîn confirmed our previous impressions.[3] It is a land without water. It is totally devoid of streams or springs except in a few places in its Zôr, and is in striking contrast to the long stretch of extremely fertile and well irrigated land extending between the Wâdī Yarmûk and ed-Dâmieh. As a result of this lack of water, the area south of ed-Dâmieh as far as the lands of Emir 'Abdallah north of Wâdī Nimrîn, was hardly occupied at all during historical times. Some very early burial circles were seen, as well as several ancient constructions, the largest of which was at Besset Khelef. Here some energetic Byzantines eked out an arid existence, thanks to a little water which rises near the surface from an underground water table.

The lands of Emir 'Abdallah, extending for several kilometers north of the Wâdī Nimrîn, could not be cultivated but for water pumped from recently sunk artesian wells. At one point, about six km. NW of Shûneh, his engineers have restored an interesting water system, which probably goes back to Byzantine, and possibly to Roman times. Near the western part of the gentle slope from the eastern foothills to the middle of the Ghôr, a long line of east-west pits was noticed. At the very bottom of this gentle slope a small trickle of water emerged. The engineers opened up these pits, and found that they were in reality deep shafts filled with debris, which, when cleared, led to an underground water channel. This channel, in turn, had a slight east-west gradient. Eighteen shafts were opened up, each of them about three meters in diameter and about ten meters apart. Each shaft, which separately taps the water table, is connected to the one west of it by a tunnel about the height of a man and half as wide. Each shaft collects a certain amount of water from the water-bearing earth it touches, passing it on through the tunnel to the next shaft, and so on, until finally a very strong stream of water is collected, without any effort except to keep the shafts and the connecting tunnel free of debris—which, however, is apparently quite a job. Where the descending surface slope and the slightly descending slope of the underground water channel approach, a deep ditch was sunk, becoming progressively shallower until it merges with the irrigation ditches at its west end. The water thus obtained irrigates a considerable number of acres, which the Emir's gardeners have planted to vegetables.

Mr. A. S. Kirkbride, the British Resident of Transjordan, informs the writer that he has seen such a system of obtaining water at a place called Jerîd, on the Palmyra-Damascus road, and that he has heard of similar systems functioning in Baluchistan. He also reports such systems as being employed today at Udhruḥ[4] and Ma'ân in Transjordan. Thinking back, the writer believes that the long line of circular pits ranging from 5 to 15 meters in dimeter, which he saw at Ḥafriyat Ghaḍyân in the Wâdī el-'Arabah, is to be explained as one of the above systems of obtaining water.[5]

[3] BULLETIN, No. 90, p. 3.
[4] *Annual*, XV, p. 76.
[5] *Annual*, XV, p. 40; the apparently larger diameter of the pits is explained by

There may be a few small sites in the Zôr between ed-Dâmieh and the Wâdī Nimrîn comparable to Tell Zôr el-Meqbereh, situated in the Zôr approximately west of Khirbet el-Wahâdneh. An examination of several likely looking sections of the Zôr between ed-Dâmieh and the Wâdī Nimrîn revealed no comparable sites, and a study of air photographs showed nothing.[6]

South of this arid area is an exceedingly rich tract. This rich southern area stretches from the Wâdī Nimrîn to the NE end of the Dead Sea, and is known generally as the *'Arbôth Mô'áb*, the Plains of Moab. It is particularly with the ancient sites located by the Bible in this area that this paper is concerned.

Numbers 33: 48-49, reads: "And they camped in the 'Arbôth Mô'áb by the Jericho section of the Jordan; encamping along (the length of) the Jordan (Valley) from Beth hay-Yešîmôth to Abel haš-Siṭṭîm, in the 'Arbôth Mô'áb." The 'Arbôth Mô'áb has something of the shape of a truncated harp, the north side being formed by the Wâdī Nimrîn and the south by the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh close to the NE end of the Dead Sea. It is watered by a number of important perennial streams, which wend their way westward to the Jordan. The three main streams, from north to south, are the Wâdī Nimrîn, known as the Wâdī Sha'îb until it emerges from the hills, the Wâdī el-Kefrein, and the Wâdī er-Râmeh, which, two thirds of the way across the Valley, runs into the Wâdī el-Kefrein, and which in the hills is known as the Wâdī Ḥesbân. Farther south, is the dry Wâdī Ejrafeh, and then the dry Wâdī eṭ-Ṭerfeh, and finally the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh, which before it emerges from the hills is known as the Wâdī el-Herī. South of the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh, the eastern foothills crowd in towards the NE end of the Dead Sea, effectively closing off the Plains of Moab. There is neither as much cultivable land nor

the fact that the writer obviously measured the earth thrown up around them rather than the actual diameter of the pits proper. [There is a considerable literature, scattered through many journals and books, on these subterranean tunnel-wells. For a convenient account of the *fúqur* or *fúqarā* (sing. *faqîr*, now disused) of Syria see R. Thoumin, *Géographie humaine de la Syria Centrale* (Tours, 1936), pp. 42 ff.; the similar system of Iran (where they are called *qanât* or *chahriz*) is compactly described by Fisher, *Geographical Review*, XVIII (1928), 302 ff. (cf. also R. F. S. Starr, BULLETIN, No. 58, p. 27). That they go back to Roman times is archaeologically certain; see Thoumin, *loc. cit.*, and Seyrig, *Syria*, 1934, 28 (M. Seyrig also tells me of unusually large *fúqarā* in the region of Palmyra). Polybius (second century B.C.) describes them as common in the Parthian Empire in his day, and says that they were already old (X, 28). Since there is neither documentary nor archaeological indication that the underground tunnel-wells were known in the ancient Near East, it seems quite possible that they were developed in pre-Achaemenid Persia and spread to the Near East in Achaemenian times. In Palestine and Syria they occur in the Jordan Valley, the eastern parts of Syria, especially in the Qalamûn east of the Antilibanus, in the Palmyrene, in regions east and northeast of Aleppo. Their significance in the history of irrigation is very great; cf. my remarks in *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1940, pp. 73 f.).—W. F. A.]

[6] The idea of Hölscher, *Zeits. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XXXIII, 1910, p. 24, that an ancient settlement cannot be thought of as existing in the Zôr has now been abundantly disproved; cf. Bergman and Brandstetter, *Bull. Pal. Expl. Soc.*, 1941, pp. 85-90.

as much water for irrigating it, in the 'Arbôth Mô'áb [7] as in the Jordan Valley north of ed-Dâmieh.

Let us begin with some of the more important ancient sites along the Wâdī Nimrîn: Tell Nimrîn, Tell Bleibil, and Tell el-Muṣṭâḥ. Like the Wâdī Nimrîn itself, Tell Nimrîn undoubtedly preserves the ancient biblical name of Beth-nimrah.[8] The waters of the Wâdī Nimrîn may be referred to in the Bible as the "*Waters of Nimrîm.*" [9]

Tell Nimrîn [10] is almost immediately east of the Arab village of Shûneh on the south side of the Wâdī Nimrîn, near the east end of the plain. It is situated on a western outspur of the hills, which rise to the Moabite plateau. From the top of Tell Nimrîn, the NE end of the Dead Sea is visible. To the E-ENE is Tell el-Muṣṭâḥ, not visible, however, from Tell Nimrîn. A considerable number of caves can be seen in the hill-sides east of the plain of Nimrîn. Immediately west of Tell Nimrîn, extending for several kilometers south of the Wâdī Nimrîn, can be seen a green belt of irrigated lands.

A modern automobile road has been cut through the north side of Tell Nimrîn, revealing ancient walls, lines of ash and burning, and numerous fragments of pottery. On the mound is a modern Arabic cemetery. A careful examination of the sherds shows that the site was occupied from Roman through mediaeval Arabic times.[11] Obviously, therefore, it cannot be identified with Beth-nimrah. It is yet another example of the wandering of names of biblical sites from their original homes to new settlements when the former were destroyed or abandoned. This is a process which occurred with some frequency particularly from the Hellenistic period onwards, often as the result of peaceful change. Tell Nimrîn is the site referred to by Eusebius and Jerome as being five Roman miles north of Livias,[12]—which is approximately correct. Livias is generally and correctly identified with Tell er-Râmeh.

East of Tell Nimrîn are considerable traces of ancient habitation. About ¾ km. east of Tell Nimrîn, the road again cuts through a low mound, revealing building remains and ash levels on both sides of the cutting. This low mound, whose north side descends quite abruptly to the Wâdī Nimrîn, is now close to the hills, whose sides are pockmarked with numerous caves. The sherds are predominantly mediaeval Arabic. This site may be considered as a continuation of Tell Nimrîn in the mediaeval Arabic period. While scrambling up the hillsides to the south, the writer found an excellent flint of the Chalcolithic Age.

Continuing east along the road, on the south side of the Wâdī Nimrîn, about 1.75 km. ENE of Tell Nimrîn, is Tell el-Muṣṭâḥ, a broad, low, flat-topped hill which dominates the confluence of the Wâdī Jarî'ah

[7] Cf. Num. 22: 1; 31: 12; 33: 48; 36: 13; RB XL, 1931, pp. 223-226.

[8] Num. 32: 36; Joshua 13: 27.

[9] Isa. 15: 6; Jer. 48: 34. [This stream is the Seil en-Numeirah at the southern end of the Dead Sea; see Abel, *Géographie*, I, 178, II, 399.—W. F. A.]

[10] Cf. Conder, *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, I, pp. 237-238; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 384-386.

[11] Albright, *Annual*, VI, p. 48; Abel, RB VII, 1910, pp. 543-545; XL, 1931, pp. 214-215; *Géographie*, II, p. 278; Mallon, *Biblica*, X, 1929, pp. 94-98; *Teleilāt Ghassūl*, I, p. 150.

[12] Onomasticon 44: 16-18; 45: 21-23; 48: 16-17; 49: 14.

with the Wâdī Sha'îb. The Jarî'ah is a dry *wâdī*, which bounds Tell el-Muṣṭâḥ on its south and west sides. On its north side is the Wâdī Sha'îb, so called until a short distance farther west, when it becomes known just before passing Tell Nimrîn as the Wâdī Nimrîn. Tell el-Muṣṭâḥ is already definitely among the foothills at the east end of the plain of Nimrîn; and Tell Bleibil, across the Wâdī Sha'îb, almost immediately NE, is on the last high terrace of the hills facing the plain. The writer has already reported on the pottery and date of Tell el-Muṣṭâḥ, which is to be assigned to EB I.[13] The modern road has cut a revealing swath also through this *tell*.

The writer had, however, not previously examined Tell Bleibil on the north side of the Wâdī Sha'îb. Located on the top of a fairly high, isolated hill, it completely dominates the approaches to and from the Jordan Valley and the highlands east of it. There seem to be ancient terraces on the steep south side of the hill. The most accessible side is the NE one, with a small dry *wâdī* curving around the NE, north and west sides to join the Wâdī Sha'îb on the south side. Most of the perennial waters of the Wâdī Nimrîn are drawn off into irrigation ditches. The fairly flat hilltop of Tell Bleibil, on which no building remains are visible today, is oriented NNE by SSW, and measures approximately 110 by 40 meters. On the top and slopes of the hill numerous sherds were found, practically all of which, with the exception of a few Roman-Byzantine pieces, belong to Iron I-II. This had already been ascertained previously by Albright and others, who are undoubtedly correct in identifying Tell Bleibil with the Biblical Beth-nimrah.[14] There are definitely no Bronze Age sherds on the site.[15] "As so often," Albright points out, "the site was changed in the Greek period to a more convenient one lower down and so more easily accessible."[16] It has been seen that the name *Nimrah*, already changed to *Nimrîn* or *Nimrî* in Talmudic literature,[17] did not wander very far. From Tell Bleibil to Tell Nimrîn SW-WSW of it is a distance of just a little over a kilometer and a half.

The three sites of Tell el-Muṣṭâḥ, Tell Bleibil, and Tell Nimrîn can for all practical purposes be considered as one historical site, occupied in three widely separated periods,—EB I, Iron I-II, and Roman-Mediaeval Arabic. It will be noticed that the gaps revealed in the history of sedentary occupation correspond, with the exception of the absence of an MB I period of occupation, to the historical conditions of settlement and gaps between periods of settlement, as they prevailed in the other parts of the Jordan Valley, extending from the Wâdī Yarmûk to the confluence of the Wâdī Zerqā with the Jordan.[18] There is also an absence

[13] Glueck, *Annual*, XVIII-XIX, pp. 171. 252-253. 257. 264; cf. Mallon, *Biblica*, X, 1929, pp. 94. 96-98; TG I, p. 150; Neuville, *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, X, 1930, pp. 193-199; Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 215; *Géographie*, I, p. 175; II, p. 278.

[14] Albright, *Annual*, VI, p. 48; Mallon, *Biblica*, X, 1929, p. 96; TG I, p. 150; Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 278.

[15] Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 215. [16] *Annual*, VI, p. 49.

[17] Cf. Klein, *'Eber hay-Yarden hay-Yehûdî*, p. 13.

[18] It is interesting to note in this connection, that in the independent survey of the Beisân section of the west side of the Jordan Valley by Bergman and Brand-

in the sites along the Wâdī Nimrîn of the LB II occupation which was attested to at a number of sites in the upper part of the Jordan Valley. The writer is inclined to think that this LB II pottery is very late and belongs historically with the Iron I pottery on the sites where they occur together.[19] Discussion of the other sites visited along the Wâdī Nimrîn, including the Chalcolithic Tell Ghanâm,[20] somewhat less than 4 km. west of Tell Nimrîn, on the north side of the Wâdī Nimrîn, will be reserved for the more detailed discussion in *Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, IV.

About seven kilometers SSE of Tell Bleibil is Tell el-Kefrein, on the north side of the Wâdī el-Kefrein. In the hills to the east it is known as the Wâdī el-Meqṭa'ah. It retains this name during its passage through the plains until it reaches a point approximately below Tell el-Kefrein, where it becomes known as the Wâdī el-Kefrein. This *wâdī* contains a strong stream of water that flows plenteously all the year round. Its fine waters irrigate a belt of land about 1½-2 km. wide, and about 8 km. long. Not all of that stretch is under cultivation. It could be much more intensively utilized, and the waters much more economically employed than they are at present. It is noticeable that until one approaches the Wâdī el-Kefrein coming south from the Wâdī Nimrîn, there is a marked absence of any important ancient sites. The ancient sites clustered perforce, as their modern successors do, around the *wudyân* which have perennial streams.

Tell el-Kefrein is located on a rocky, completely isolated hill, which juts like a tall cone, approximately 40 m. high, out of the surrounding plain. It commands a splendid view of the entire Plains of Moab. The lands immediately west and south of Tell el-Kefrein are intensively cultivated. The hill on which the ancient site is located is almost completely natural. Ribs of rock jut out of the west side of the hill near its base. Among them are numerous rock-cut tombs, for the most part badly destroyed.[21] There are also similar remnants of tombs and some caves on the east side. The rather small top of the hill, which is oriented WSW by ENE and measures about 15 by 24 m.,[22] is used today as an Arab graveyard. On the top and slopes of the hill were found numerous Iron I-II sherds and nothing else, as Mallon had already recognized.[23] There are at present no traces of ancient buildings on the top of the hill, which has been apparently artificially levelled. There can be no question, however, that a small fortress existed there in Early Iron times.

Whether, however, Tell el-Kefrein is to be identified with the place called *Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm* in Numbers 33: 49, as has been universally assumed,[24] is a matter which requires further examination. The writer

stetter (BJPES VIII, 1941, pp. 83-90), the results obtained correspond exactly with those obtained from the archaeological survey of the east side of the Jordan Valley.

[19] Cf. Albright, BULLETIN, No. 86, p. 20, n. 14 a; Glueck, *Annual*, XIV, pp. 14. 22. 82; XV, p. 137.

[20] Mallon, TG I, p. 150.

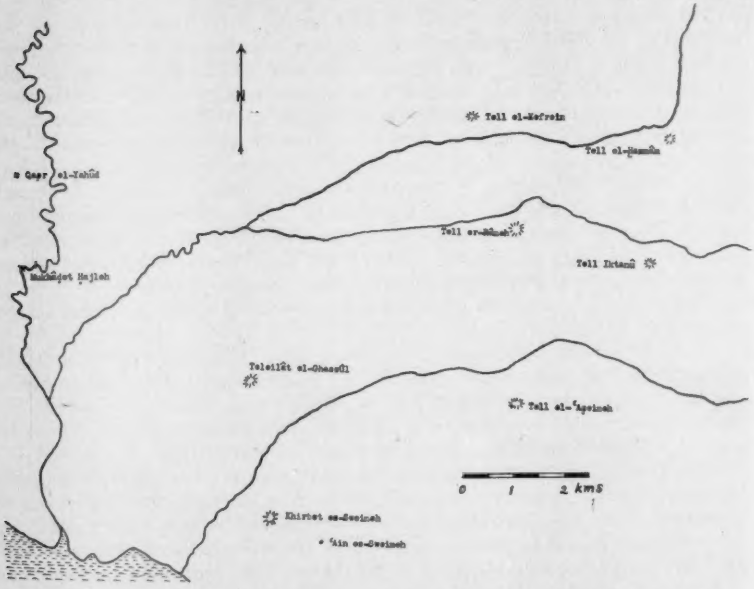
[21] For measurements of some of these tombs cf. Conder, SEP I, pp. 140-141.

[22] Cf. Mallon, TG I, p. 150; Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 216.

[23] *Biblica*, X, 1929, p. 223; cf. Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 216; *Géographie*, II, p. 234.

[24] Albright, *Annual*, VI, p. 49; Mallon, *Biblica*, X, pp. 223-224; TG I, p. 150;

believes that this identification is incorrect. Before an identification can be attempted, certain fundamental prerequisites must be fulfilled. It is necessary: (a) to know the whereabouts of all the ancient sites in what has first to be determined to be the proper district; (b) to examine carefully and competently the sherds found on these sites, and see if they correspond with the periods of occupation referred to in literary accounts, or which can be deduced from such accounts; (c) to determine whether the site being considered conforms with the usage of ancient writers in



Sketch-map illustrating Glueck's explorations in the Plains of Moab. Being based on published maps, it is probably inaccurate in detail and should be corrected to agree more closely with Glueck's statements of direction and distance.—W. F. A.

mentioning any particular place. It must always be remembered that they were not interested in compiling an onomasticon, but in writing a religious history, or in using historical and other materials for religious purposes. They were concerned with a particular place such as Jabesh-gilead or Succoth, or a particular area such as the *'Arbôth Mô'áb*, because of certain happenings there. Within this framework the biblical writers mentioned particular places because (1) of specific happenings there; (2) because the places were of outstanding commercial or strategic importance known to their readers; (3) because they marked the limits

Conder, SEP I, pp. 140-141; Abel RB VII, 1910, pp. 542-543; *Géographie*, II, p. 234; Maisler, *Historical Atlas*, p. 38.

or were the outstanding sites in a distinctive area, forming a more-or-less self-contained unit. The writer believes that Tell el-Kefrein was definitely not the place called *Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm* in Numbers 33: 49, and that it was merely a post on the road to the incomparably larger and stronger site of Tell el-Ḥammâm, farther east. Tell el-Kefrein owes its occupation in the Early Iron Age to the fact that it was on a hill immediately overlooking a larger expanse of irrigated land along the Wâdī el-Kefrein. As pointed out already, however, Tell el-Kefrein is only large enough to have provided room for a small fortress. A couple of hundred meters southwest of Tell el-Kefrein is a small modern village, among whose houses and refuse piles some Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were picked up.

1½ km. WSW of Tell el-Kefrein is Khirbet el-Kefrein, directly on the north side of the Wâdī el-Kefrein. It is a large, completely destroyed site on the natural plain. It is oriented E-W, and measures about 500 by 200 m.[25] Part of its north side is used for an Arabic cemetery. The area is packed with large quantities of Roman-Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. In these periods it was obviously important, but it is completely uninhabited today. The writer is emphatically in agreement with the scholars who identify later Abila with Khirbet el-Kefrein. The history of Abila is linked with that of Livias (see below), now Tell er-Râmeh. Josephus[26] reports that Nero gave Abila and Julias (Livias) to Agrippa, and that Placidus[27] "took Abila, and Julias, and Bezemoth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltitis." It will be seen that these places are in a line going from north to south, from Khirbet el-Kefrein to Tell er-Râmeh to Khirbet es-Sweimeh, with which they are to be identified. Josephus tells his readers furthermore[28] that from Abila to the Jordan was a march of about 60 stadia—which would be approximately the distance from Khirbet el-Kefrein to the Jordan. The position of Abila is still further fixed by the fact that in his commentary to Joel 3: 18 Jerome says that Livias (Julius) is six miles from the Dead Sea.[29]

The shortening of *Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm* to *Šiṭṭîm*[30] and in a later period to *Abila*, the equivalent of *Abel*, is reminiscent of what seems to have happened also in the case of the name *Abel-meḥôlah*. The writer would like to discuss in this connection the name and location of Abel-meḥôlah, already dealt with in a previous paper,[31] where the writer developed the thesis that Abel-meḥôlah was definitely not in the Ghôr on the west side of the Jordan, but "in the rich, cultivable hill-country of Gilead, east of the Jordan." It will be recalled that Abel-meḥôlah was not only the home of Elisha, but was probably the home of 'Adrî'ēl the son of Barzillai the Meholathite.[32]

[25] Cf. Mallon, *Biblica*, X, 1929, p. 223; Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 216; Conder, SEP I, p. 149.

[26] BJ II, 13. 2.

[27] BJ IV, 7. 6.

[28] Antiquities, V, 1. 1; cf. IV, 8. 1.

[29] Cf. Abel, RB VII, 1910, p. 543, n. 1; cf. Eusebius and Jerome, Onomasticon, pp. 10: 28; 11: 27.

[30] Num. 25: 1; Joshua 2: 1; 3: 1; Micah 6: 5.

[31] BULLETIN, No. 90, pp. 10 ff.

[32] Cf. I Sam. 18: 19; II Sam. 21: 8; cf. Cheyne, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, under *Abel-meḥôlah*; Caspari, *Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, p. 646, n. 5; Kennedy, *I and II Samuel*, p. 233, n. 19; Smith, H. P., *Samuel*, p. 172; Nowack, *Richter, Ruth, u. Bücher Samuelis*, p. 238, among others. Barzillai, the father of 'Adrî'ēl the

It seems reasonable to assume that *Meḥôlah*, name of the town from which 'Adrî'ēl came, is an abbreviation of *Abel-meḥôlah* just as *Šiṭṭîm* is an abbreviation of *Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm*. For some indication as to the location of Abel-meḥôlah, reference may again be made to what has been said above with regard to Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm. Just as it could be shortened to *Šiṭṭîm*, and in a later period to *Abila*, so it was possible for the name *Abel-meḥôlah* to be shortened to *Meḥôlah*, as we have seen in the case of the name of 'Adrî'ēl the Meholathite, and again in a later period to *Abel*. This process of shortening place-names compounded with *Abel* is testified to further in the instance of *Abel Beth-ma'akhah*,[33] which in one instance is referred to as *Abel-mayim*.[34]

Two sites suggest themselves for consideration. One is Tell 'Âbil which together with the immediately adjacent Tell Umm el-'Amad has been correctly identified by Schumacher[35] with Abila of the Decapolis; the other is Tell el-Maqlûb. The perennial stream of water running through the richly cultivated, shallow Wâdī el-Qeweilbeh, fed by the splendid spring of 'Ain el-Qeweilbeh, was the main reason for the location of the great Roman city here.[36] There are very large quantities of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds on the site, but apparently nothing earlier. Nevertheless, the writer is absolutely convinced that both Iron and Early Bronze pottery are to be found somewhere in the vicinity of this site, just as they were found in the immediate vicinity of Roman Gerasa.[37] The massive Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic settlements built over Tell 'Âbil and Tell Umm el-'Amad may have completely obscured all earlier remains. It is possible, therefore, that a prolonged examination will yet reveal the presence of Bronze and Iron Age pottery, just as at Pella (Ṭabaqat Faḥil).[38] After examining hundreds of sites in Transjordan, the writer is prepared to say that it is almost axiomatic that wherever there is such a fine spring as 'Ain el-Qeweilbeh, then somewhere in the vicinity must be an Early Bronze and an Iron Age site.

The other site which might possibly have been that of Abel-meḥôlah is Tell el-Maqlûb. It has, as pointed out above, the proper periods of occupation in early times, and it is the only site in the vicinity of Kefr 'Ab^{e}l—which latter place was extensively occupied in the Roman, Byzantine, and Mediaeval Arabic periods.[39] The writer suggests therefore that the name *Abel-meḥôlah*, to be identified perhaps with Tell el-Maqlûb, wandered in the abbreviated form of *Abel* to the subsequently established near-by site now known as Kefr 'Ab^{e}l, which was first settled in early Roman times. One recalls that Elijah found Elisha ploughing the fields with twelve yoke of oxen. When the writer visited Tell el-Maqlûb, the *fellaḥîn* were engaged in ploughing the lands round about, on both sides of the splendid perennial stream of the Wâdī Yâbis, with just about a dozen yoke of oxen all told. This is not cited as proof for the identification of Tell el-Maqlûb with Abel-meḥôlah!

It will be noticed that both Tell 'Âbil and Tell el-Maqlûb are situated by fine streams of water. The writer accepts Albright's interpretation of *Abel* as meaning not "meadow" but "brook, running stream."[40] This is borne out indeed by an examination of every site mentioned in the Bible with the name *Abel* or compounded with that name, such as *Abel Beth-ma'akhah*, *Abel-kerāmîm*, *Abel-miṣraim*, or *Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm*.[41] Thus the site of Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm must be located by the *abel* of

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Meholathite, is not to be confused with Barzillai the Gileadite from Rôgl^{e}m, who was one of those who welcomed David and his people to Mahanaim, when they fled there during the Absalom rebellion, and supplied them with food (II Sam. 17: 27; cf. II Sam. 19: 32-40).

[33] II Sam. 20: 14. 15; I Kings 15: 20; II Kings 15: 29.

[34] II Chronicles 16: 4; Josephus, Antiquities, VIII, 12. 4.

[35] *Abila, Pella, and Ajlun*, p. 47.

[36] Schumacher, *Abila, Pella, and Ajlun*, pp. 9-51. [37] BULLETIN, No. 75, pp. 22-29.

[38] *Annual*, VI, p. 39; *Quarterly Statement*, 1934, p. 31. The writer has found EB I(?), MB I and Iron I-II sherds at Fahil.

[39] Cf. Richmond, PEQ 1934, p. 19; Steuernagel, *Der 'Adschlun*, ZDPV XLIX, 1926, pp. A 395-396.

[40] *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, p. 39; cf. BULLETIN, No. 89, p. 15, n. 44.

[41] Cf. Abel, *Géographie*, II, pp. 233-234.

Šiṭṭ'm, the perennial stream of the Wâdī el-Kefrein. Abel-meḥôlah would then be situated by the perennial stream of the Wâdī el-Qeweilbeh or the Wâdī Yâbis, depending upon which of these suggestions, if either, is correct.

We return to the discussion of the site of Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm! It cannot be identified with Khirbet el-Kefrein nor with Tell el-Kefrein. Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm is to be identified with Tell el-Ḥammâm, known also as Tell el-Ḥammeh es-Samrī. It is situated about 2½ km. SE of Tell el-Kefrein on a high, completely isolated hill, on the south side of the Wâdī el-Kefrein. Between Tell el-Ḥammâm and the Wâdī el-Meqṭa'ah (Wâdī el-Kefrein) is a hot spring, 'Ain el-Ḥammâm, which the writer was not able to visit. There are apparently some Roman-Byzantine ruins by it.[42] The imposing hill upon which the ruins of Tell el-Ḥammâm are located, stands almost at the base of the rise to the plateau of Moab. Tell el-Ḥammâm commands the outlet of Wâdī el-Kefrein, as it emerges in a fairly broad, partly cultivated *wâdî* from the hills to the east. It is in many ways the most commanding site in the entire area of the Plains of Moab, with the possible exception of Tell Iktanû. The large hill of Tell el-Ḥammâm is ascended by several broad, steep stages. On the fairly flat, platform-like top of the hill, which is about 35 meters above the base of the plain, are the remains of a large and originally very strongly built Early Iron fortress. It is oriented SW by NE, and is completely enclosed by a great fortress wall, the lines of which can still be traced. The enclosed rectangular area is guarded at both narrow ends by massive towers now reduced to heaps of ruins. The top of the hill dips somewhat towards the center. The highest point is at the SW side, which is surmounted by the ruins of two (?) towers, between which a gateway apparently led into the fortified area. The walled area measures approximately 140 by 25 m.,[43] with the SW and NE ends somewhat less wide. The walls appear to be about 1.20 m. thick. The entire top of the hill, inside the ancient encircling wall, is covered with foundation ruins of houses. The SW end of the hill-top forms an elevated platform, separated from the rest of the enclosed area by a cross wall. This raised section which culminates in the two (?) towers at the SW end is about 33 m. long and about 17 m. wide, and seems to form an inner citadel. The over-all length has been estimated above. There are traces of a strong glaçis built against the tower at the NE end.[44]

Large numbers of Iron I-II sherds were found on the upper slopes and on top of this fortified hill, in addition to a smaller number of EB I and a few Chalcolithic sherds. The writer did not have time to examine all of this very large hill. He is of the opinion that this is another of the double sites previously encountered in the Jordan Valley, such as Tell el-Qôs and Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh, and that on part of this hill will yet be found much larger quantities of EB sherds than he has come across. The sherds which the writer has classified as EB I, belong to the same category of pottery as the complete vessels obtained from the necropolis

[42] Cf. Mallon, TG I, pp. 150-151; Conder, SEP I, pp. 101. 229-230.
[43] Cf. Mallon, TG I, p. 151, who gives the measurements as 45 by 200 meters.
[44] For an excellent photograph of the site cf. Mallon, TG I, Pl. 11: 1.

at the base of the hill of Tell el-Ḥammâm by Mallon. These have been published by Mallon,[45] who compares them mistakenly to the pottery obtained from Teleilât Ghassûl.[46] Wright [47] has already pointed out that they must be assigned to EB I. There are no sherds later than Iron II at Tell el-Ḥammâm, and none between EB I and Iron I.

It is significant in connection with the gaps in settlement shown by the pottery of Tell el-Ḥammâm, to note the finds on Tell Abū Qarf, about half a kilometer WSW-SW of Tell el-Ḥammâm. The sherds there belong mainly to MB I, with some EB I and Iron I-II. Tell Abū Qarf is a large, low, almost flat rise on the south side of the Wâdī el-Kefrein. Tell Abū Qarf averages about 4-5 m. above the level of the plain west and north of it. On these sides the rise is very gradual. On the south and east sides, the descent is somewhat more abrupt. Irrigation ditches lead water from the Wâdī el-Kefrein to cultivated lands around it, most of them banana plantations. The very top of this low rise is some 60 m. in diameter. There are some modern burials on it. It has been swept clean of almost all building remains. For all practical purposes, Tell Abū Qarf and Tell el-Ḥammâm may be regarded as belonging to one settlement complex. Here again is seen a repetition of the history of settlement throughout the Jordan Valley: EB I (I-II), with a gap extending to MB I, followed by another gap extending to EI I-II. Sometimes this latter gap may begin with MB II A and sometimes end with LB II. After that there is apparently another gap extending to Roman—or perhaps better to late Hellenistic times. Tell eṭ-Tāḥûn, a little over ½ km. north of Tell el-Ḥammâm and located on a hill overlooking the Wâdī el-Kefrein from the north, was apparently occupied in the Roman-Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic periods.

It will be seen from the foregoing what an important place Tell el-Ḥammâm was: (a) it guards the approaches to the Plains of Moab from the mountains, and the road to the Nā'ûr and Ḥesbân highlands from the Plains; (b) it is the most important site on the Wâdī el-Kefrein; (c) it controls the waters of the entire Wâdī el-Kefrein, which marks the dividing line between the Ghôr el-Kefrein and the Ghôr er-Râmeh; (d) it was very strongly fortified in the Iron Age, and probably also in Early Bronze I; (e) it was for all these reasons an outstanding site, which would probably have been known to many of the readers of the Bible. In a word, the site of Tell el-Ḥammâm fulfils the conditions for being identified with Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm. All these sites on the east side of the Ghôr, at the lower edge of the hills, dominate from naturally strong fortified positions the perennial streams issuing from the hills.

On the hill-sides east of Tell el-Ḥammâm are the remains of great fields of dolmens, which extend all the way south as far as the north end of the Dead Sea and beyond.[48] As will be pointed out in more detail in the next volume of *Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, they occur on the slopes leading down from the highlands to the edge of the

[45] TG I, Pl. 61: 1-6. [46] TG I, p. 154.
[47] *The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the end of the Early Bronze Age*, p. 61.
[48] Cf. Conder, SEP I, pp. 229-230.

Ghôr along the entire length of the east side of the Jordan Valley. There is reason to believe that in the cultivated highlands they were at one time almost as thickly represented as they are on the slopes leading down from the west end of these highlands to the Jordan Valley. The writer maintains: (a) that the dolmens of Transjordan and Palestine are most emphatically not the work of Bedouin; [49] (b) that, on the contrary, they are the work of people who belonged to an agricultural civilization, living in Palestine and especially in Transjordan on separate farms in long, low, narrow, thick-walled stone houses, in a period of prevailing peace. The presence of dolmens in barren areas is not to be interpreted in the sense that their builders were desert-dwellers, but rather that they were comparatively so numerous, that they spilled over into marginal lands, where only a dynamic people could survive. The Nabataeans farmed lands which others before them were not able to make use of because of lack of numbers, energy, and technical development.[50] This seems to have been true to a certain degree also of the dolmen builders. Sometimes their dolmens were situated in barren areas, directly overlooking fertile lands. This would apply to the dolmens on the lower slopes of the hills overlooking the Jordan Valley from the east.

The writer has found the remains of a house of the type described above. It is situated in a grove of trees called Šejeret el-'Ašarah, immediately east of the village of Kefr Kifyā in northern Transjordan. The two long walls of the house are still standing; they are made of rude flint blocks, with small chunks of stone between them. The walls are oriented NNW by SSE, with a doorway on the west side. The house measures 10 by 7.50 m., with the walls each about 2.15 m. thick. The doorway is about 80 cm. wide, and at present 1.10 m. high. The walls, which slope inward, perhaps by accident, may originally have been 1.50 to 2 m. high. The house could have been roofed by putting stone beams or flat slabs over the parallel walls, in much the same way as the dolmen builders put great slabs over the dolmens. This structure is strikingly similar to the long, narrow dolmens, containing two chambers, connected by an aperture cut into the slab placed in the middle, that can be seen at Tell Umm el-Qeṭein on the north side of the Wādī er-Râmeh, below and W-WNW of Tell el-Meṭâbi' on the south side of the *wâdī*.[51] The writer believes that this type of dolmen is closely related to the type of house which the dolmen-builder erected for himself during his lifetime. The building of the dolmens and related houses required much energy and considerable skill. When one thinks of the tremendous effort involved in prying loose the great slabs of rock of which most of the dolmens are made, and of dragging them to the desired place, and lifting them into position, it is impossible to believe that their authors were really nomads.

[49] Cf. Neuville, *Biblica*, XI, 1930, p. 265; Karge, *Rephaim*, pp. 553-554.

[50] Cf. Glueck, *Annual*, XVIII-XIX, pp. 149-150. 152, fig. 52.

[51] Conder, SEP I, pp. 230-236, has given a good description of these dolmens; cf. especially the drawings on p. 232. Conder calls this site Tell el-Maṭâbi', which, however, is the name of the dolmen field on the hill above Umm el-Qeṭein to the E-ESE; cf. Vincent, *Canaan*, pp. 420-421, fig. 292-294; Steuernagel, ZDPV 48, Pl. 21: 49; p. A 391; Mallon, *Biblica*, X, 1929, pp. 224-230; TG I, p. 154.

To judge from the cramped interior of what the writer believes to be a house of the dolmen period, it would seem likely that the dolmen period man was anything but a "giant."[52] The writer gives up any tendencies he may have had[53] of dating the dolmens as late as 2000 B. C., and is convinced that all the evidence points to a very much earlier date. Already in 1935, Albright tentatively suggested that the dolmens should be associated with Tahunian culture of the Neolithic Age.[54] Broome, quoting from a letter of Albright to him, mentions Waechter's evidence for the presence of Tahunian settlements in the Wâdī Dhōbai[55] and says, "Albright is of the opinion that the dolmens must be assigned to the pre-ceramic Tahunian I period, and hence belong to the sixth millennium."[56] Broome's excellent study comes to the conclusion that they "are to be dated in the fourth millennium, and in all probability as early as the year 4000 B. C."[57] The writer considers this date too late. He would rather associate himself with Albright's position for the date of the original dolmens, as they are commonly seen by the thousands in Transjordan and Syria, and in lesser numbers in Palestine. It is obvious that the original dolmens were used and reused and that the presence of Bronze-Age sherds in some and Roman sherds in others proves just that and nothing else.[58] Buried in the dirt near one of the dolmens at Tell Umm el-Qeṭein, for example, the writer found an Early-Bronze I ledge-handle. The possibility must not be left out of consideration that dolmens continued to be built after the period in which they originated. The writer is struck by the type of the construction of the neolithic house in ancient Jericho, where "no bricks were used, *only mud in slabs* or bulk between finished faces."[59] Had stone been easily available, the neolithic builders at Jericho might have constructed their houses of the same large, rough slabs of stone that the probably contemporary dolmen-builders used.

A little less than 2½ km. SE-SSE of Khirbet el-Kefrein is Tell er-Râmeh, which is about ½ km. south of Wâdī er-Râmeh. Wâdī er-Râmeh emerges from the eastern hills, where it is known as the Wâdī Ḥesbân. It then flows west and joins the Wâdī el-Kefrein some 5 km. before the latter empties into the Jordan. It is this site of Tell er-Râmeh which has generally been identified with Beth-harâm,[60] the southernmost of the four outstanding sites in the Jordan Valley mentioned in Joshua

[52] Cf. Wright, "Troglodytes and Giants in Palestine," *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, LVII, 1938, pp. 305-307; Broome, "The Dolmens of Palestine and Transjordania," JBL LIX, 1940, pp. 488-489.

[53] *Annual*, XVIII-XIX, p. 129.

[54] JPOS XV, 1935, p. 203.

[55] JPOS XVIII, 1938, pp. 297-298.

[56] Broome, p. 496. [The quotation is correct. I am convinced that the true dolmens of this region antedate 4500 B. C.—W. F. A.]

[57] Broome, p. 492; cf. p. 496, where he records his belief that the fourth millennium is the *latest possible* date for the dolmens.

[58] Cf. Broome, p. 483.

[59] Garstang, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XXII, 1935, p. 167. The italics are mine.

[60] Cf. Mallon, *Biblica*, X, 1930, pp. 220-222; TG I, p. 149; Conder, SEP I, pp. 238-239; Merrill, pp. 383-384; Musil, *Moab*, I, p. 347; Klein, pp. 12-13; Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 219; *Géographie*, II, p. 273.

13: 27,[61] "And in the Valley Beth-haram and Beth-nimrah; and Succoth and Zaphon." It is a fairly high and almost completely natural mound, that juts out of the fruitful plain in the same isolated fashion as Tell el-Kefrein. It is about 20 m. high. Eusebius and Jerome report that Betharam, a town near Gad near the Jordan, called Bethramthā in Aramaic, was called Livias by Herod in honor of Augustus."[62] According to Josephus, as has been seen, its name was some time later changed again to Julias.[63] Abel traces the development of the name from the biblical Beth-harâm to the Beit er-Râm of Muqaddasī in the tenth cent. A. D., and the Beit Râmah of Yaqût cir. 1225 A. D.[64]

The equation of Beth-harâm, Beth-ramthâ, Beit er-Râm, Beit Râmah, Tell er-Râmeh with Livias (Julias), whose position has previously been dealt with, is undoubtedly correct. It does not prove, however, that Tell er-Râmeh is to be identified with the actual site of ancient Biblical Beth-harâm, which first belonged to Sihon before it was taken over by the tribe of Gad.[65] An examination of the pottery of Tell er-Râmeh proves that this identification cannot possibly be correct. Large quantities of Roman, Byzantine, and painted and glazed mediaeval Arabic sherds were found, but not a single sherd that can be ascribed to any period earlier than Roman.[66] The writer paid two visits to Tell er-Râmeh, the second time for rechecking, with the same results. It will be seen in the fuller discussion to appear in *Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, IV, that el-Mazâr, about ½ km. to the SE, and Tell ed-Dabākiyeh about 1 km. W-WSW, are a part of the complex of the Roman-Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic site of Tell er-Râmeh.[67]

Where then is the original Early Iron Age site to be located? Albright cautiously says: "The site of Roman Bethramtha-Livias . . . inherited the name of Hebrew Bêt-harâm. . . . The Early Iron Age site may not be at Tell er-Râmeh itself, but rather at one of the other mounds in the immediate vicinity, especially Tell Sāghûr and Tell Iktanû."[68] The identification with Tell eš-Sāghûr, somewhat less than ¾ km. NW of Tell er-Râmeh, may be ruled out at once. Occupied today by a small modern settlement, and obviously never large or important, it was, to judge from the sherds found around it, first settled in Roman times, and then occupied through the mediaeval Arabic period.[69]

Tell Iktanû, however, is a site of a different calibre. Next to Tell el-Ḥammâm, it is the most important site in the *'Arbôth Mô'áb*. Its position, its pottery, its fortifications, make it the only possible candidate for identification with Beth-harâm. Tell Iktanû is about 2¾ km. ESE

[61] Cf. Num. 32: 36.
[62] Onomasticon 48: 13-15; 49: 12-13.
[63] Josephus, BJ, II, 13. 2; IV, 7. 6; cf. Musil, *Moab*, I, pp. 347-348 for additional references to position of Livias.
[64] RB XL, 1931, p. 220.
[65] Josh. 13, 24-27; Num. 32, 34-36.
[66] Abel, RB XL, 1931, p. 220.
[67] For the discussion of the occupation of Tell er-Râmeh from the Roman through the mediaeval Arabic periods cf. Abel, RB XL, 1931, pp. 221-223.
[68] *Annual*, VI, p. 49.
[69] Merrill, pp. 235-236; Conder, SEP I, pp. 239-240.

of Tell er-Râmeh, on the south side of the Wâdī er-Râmeh, about ½ km. from it. Irrigation canals from this *wâdī* water banana plantations and other cultivated areas in the plain around it, which measures ca. 8 x 2.5 km. It dominates completely the plain west of it, as well as the approaches to the hills east and south of it. It also commands the outlet of the Wâdī er-Râmeh from the hills. The arc of the hills near Tell Iktanû begins to bend sharply SW towards the Dead Sea.

From Tell er-Râmeh, the land begins to rise, at first almost imperceptibly, eastward. Then it mounts by a series of rising stages, intersected by numerous irrigation ditches, until the base of the hills is reached. About ¾ km. NE of Tell Iktanû on the north side of the Wâdī er-Râmeh is Tell Umm el-Qeṭein, situated on an E-W rise on a low spur above the Wâdī Qeṣeib to the north. On this rise are located the long two-chambered dolmens briefly discussed above. About 1 km. E-ESE of Tell Umm el-Qeṭein and about a little more than 1½ km. E-ENE of Tell Iktanû, on a high hill situated among the hills rising abruptly to the Ḥesbân highlands, is the above mentioned dolmen field of Tell Meṭâbi'. Tell Iktanû itself is between 35 and 40 meters above the plain.

The Wâdī er-Râmeh with its perennial stream is the last of its size as one goes south towards the Dead Sea. Wâdī er-Râmeh forms a very distinctive boundary line in the Plains of Moab and Tell Iktanû is the most important place along that line. The north limit of the Plains of Moab is marked by the Wâdī Nimrîn, dominated by Tell Bleibil, ancient Beth-nimrah. The largest *wâdī* crossing the south part of the Plains of Moab is the Wâdī er-Râmeh, dominated by Tell Iktanû, which the writer would identify with the Beth-harâm of the Bible. The abundant sherds of Tell Iktanû are predominantly MB I and Iron I-II. A small quantity of them was found to belong to the first part of EB I and to the latter part of the Chalcolithic.[70]

On the top platform of Tell Iktanû are the remains of a strong fortress, which, in all probability, was built in its present form in the Early Iron Age. Most of the Iron I-II sherds were found on this platform and on the slopes of the hill immediately below it. This fortified area situated at the SE part of the very summit of the hill is oriented NE-NNE by SW-SSW. It is surrounded by walls one meter wide, traces of which are clearly visible around most of the fortified area. It measures about 42 m. on the east side, with the wall curving around from SE to NW, 35 m. on the south side, approximately the same on the north side, and about 20 m. on the west side.[71] Below the SW side of the fortification is a rocky spur which descends jaggedly to the plain below. Although some of the above mentioned EB and MB sherds were found on the top of the hill, most of them, as well as the few Chalcolithic sherds found, were picked up on the lower slopes, particularly the south slope, and at the base of the hill. The process whereby in a later period the name of the

[70] To this latter part of the Chalcolithic period belong the sherds of TG I, pl. 61: 7; 62: 1-2. To MB I belong TG I, pl. 62: 5. 6(?)-8; cf. p. 151. *Biblica*, X, 1929, p. 231.

[71] Cf. the plan without scale by Mallon, *Biblica*, X, 1929, p. 230, fig. 2, which cannot possibly be correct; Merrill, p. 230; Conder, SEP I, p. 230.

Biblical site wandered from its original home near the hills to a place in the center of the plain, or at least some distance away from the original site, to a new home, is repeated in the relationship of Tell Iktanû to Tell er-Râmeh. It is furthermore noteworthy that in these two sites we find the same chronological pattern as elsewhere in the Jordan Valley: occupation in Early Bronze I (-II), going back to the end of the Chalcolithic; a break; heavy occupation in Middle Bronze I; another break; heavy occupation during the Iron I-II; another break; heavy occupation from Roman through mediaeval Arabic times, with the Roman occupation extending perhaps backwards into the Hellenistic period; a final break in modern times.

As already noted, the hills bordering Tell Iktanû on the south, curve around towards the NE end of the Dead Sea, reducing in width the southern extent of the *'Arbôth Mô'áb*. In this area of the Plains are no longer streams of water as strong as those of the *wudyân* thus far dealt with. There is nevertheless one fairly important *wâdī*, with a certain amount of water, furnished by strong springs, which marks the southernmost limit of the arable area of the *'Arbôth Mô'áb*. It is the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh. It is this southernmost cultivable area, in which Beth hay-Yešîmôth is located; cf. Num. 33: 49: "And they (the Israelites) camped by the Jordan, from Beth hay-Yešîmôth to Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm, in the 'Arbôth Mô'áb." This passage obviously does not mean to exclude the rich lands further north in the *'Arbôth Mô'áb*, discussed in connection with Josh. 13: 27. Num. 33: 49 and Josh. 13: 27 look, so to speak, at the Plains of Moab through different binoculars. Each pair of sites listed in these verses, Beth hay-Yešîmôth and Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm on the one hand, and Beth-harâm and Beth-nimrah on the other, includes land common to both, and some land comprised only in one or the other. The stretch from the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh, on which Beth hay-Yešîmôth has been correctly located, to Wâdī el-Kefrein, on which Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm (Tell el-Ḥammâm) is located, represents a natural whole, and the stretch from the Wâdī er-Râmeh on which Beth-harâm (Tell Iktanû) is located, to the Wâdī Nimrîn on which Beth-nimrah (Tell Bleibil) is located, represents another natural whole.

The site hitherto identified by all with Beth hay-Yešîmôth is Khirbet Sweimeh, on the south side of the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh, about 2 km. from the NE end of the Dead Sea, and about 1 km. NW of the strong spring of 'Ain Sweimeh. The most striking reason for this identification is the similarity of the name *Yešîmôth* to *Sweimeh*, which is obviously its arabicized form. The name occurs in Josephus's description of the conquest of the Plains of Moab by Placidus, " when he took Abila, Julias, and Bezemoth." [72] Abel traces the development of the Biblical name to its present Arabic form in literature extending through the Middle Ages.[73] The position of Khirbet Sweimeh corresponds also with the location of the site as given by Eusebius and Jerome, described as " Bethsimuth, which is today known as Isimuth," and as being opposite Jericho, about 10 miles south, near the Dead Sea.[74] It also corresponds with the site

[72] BJ IV, 7. 6.

[73] RB XLI, 1932, pp. 85-86.

[74] Onomasticon 48: 6-8; 49: 5-7.

on the Mâdebā map, where it is shown near the NE end of the Dead Sea, surrounded by palm trees, though the name is missing.[75]

Khirbet Sweimeh is an extensive low mound, some 5 m. above the plain. Oriented W-WSW by E-ENE, it measures about 75 by 60 m. Part of it is used as a modern cemetery. On its west side are some rude stone huts which serve as store-houses, built of stones taken from the site. Immediately below the SE end of the mound is a brackish water hole, from which a small quantity of water oozes forth. A small village stands a few dozen meters away from the SE end of the mound in the plain proper. Between the mound and 'Ain Sweimeh, about a kilometer to the SE, is a good stretch of land, irrigated by the waters of the splendid spring of 'Ain Sweimeh—and planted to thriving wheat at the time of the writer's visit there on Feb. 10, 1943. Sheikh Selîm, one of the heads of the Ghawârneh Arabs, to whom the Sweimeh lands belong, insisted that there were 6000 dunams of land under irrigated cultivation. Mr. A. S. Kirkbride has informed the writer that actually there are about 600 dunams at most. A careful examination was made of the large quantities of sherds found on and around Khirbet Sweimeh. Many of them were taken from a deep trench cut across most of the width of the mound near its west end. The sherds were Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic, with nothing earlier. Père Abel, whose researches in the Jordan Valley have contributed so much to our knowledge of this region, very kindly permitted the writer to examine the sherds he had collected years ago from Khirbet Sweimeh. They were the same as those found by the writer on the site, and dated likewise from Roman to mediaeval Arabic.[76] It is, therefore, absolutely impossible to identify Khirbet Sweimeh with Beth hay-Yešīmôth. Here, obviously, is another example of a later site, situated in an open plain, which inherited the name of the original Iron Age site located somewhere in the vicinity. All of these unfortified towns in the center of the plains depended for their security upon the general peacefulness of the times in which they existed.

The question then remains as to the location of the biblical site of Beth hay-Yešīmôth.[77] Going east from Khirbet Sweimeh, along the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh, about ¾ km. from Khirbet Sweimeh on the south side of the *wâdī*, one comes to Teleilāt Umweis. There, with much difficulty, the writer found several dozen sherds, representing the Chalcolithic, MB I(?), Iron I-II, and Byzantine periods.[78] This site will be described in more detail in the forthcoming fuller report. Somewhat less than 5 km. east of Khirbet Sweimeh, on the south side of the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh, is Tell el-'Aẓeimeh.[79] It is situated on the edge of a high, flat, largely isolated bench, which overlooks the point north of it where

[75] Cf. Abel, RB VI, 1909, p. 230; *Géographie*, II, p. 275; Mallon, *Biblica*, X, 1929, pp. 218-220; TG I, p. 147; Conder, SEP I, p. 156.

[76] RB XLI, 1932, p. 85; *Géographie*, II, p. 275; Mallon, *Biblica*, X, 1929, p. 219.

[77] Cf. Josh. 13: 20; Ezek. 25: 9.

[78] Cf. Abel, RB XLI, 1932, p. 84; Mallon, TG I, p. 148.

[79] It is apparently the Khirbet el-'Adeimeh of Abel's map in RB XLI, 1932, p. 78, fig. 1, but is not to be confused with the Roman camp below it to the west, on which Abel, pp. 82-83, reports.

the Wâdī el-Herī emerges from the hills to become known as the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh. The perennial stream of the Wâdī el-Herī, fed by the strong spring of 'Ain el-Herī, emerges from the deep and rough trough of the Wâdī el-Herī and drops down into the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh in a small waterfall. However, an irrigation ditch taps the Wâdī el-Herī before this point is reached, and leads some of the waters over Tell el-'Aẓeimeh to some fields WSW of it. The waters that remain and flow into the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh are then led off for the most part today by another irrigation ditch to some fields near the Wâdī eṭ-Ṭerfeh. A good distance, therefore, before the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh passes by Khirbet Sweimeh, its bed is as dry as a bone.

The bench on which Tell el-'Aẓeimeh is located falls away very sharply to the west, commanding a splendid view of the plain below, which descends in gradual stages from this point westward. Situated about ¼ km. away on the rising ground east of Tell el-'Aẓeimeh is a fine circular grave, apparently of dolmen affinity, measuring about 4.50 m. in diameter. It is built of large stones laid sidewise, measuring on the average about 1.10 by .60 by .25 m. Nearby are the remains of large dolmens. On the north side of the *wâdī*, in about the same relative position and continuing northward, is a very extensive dolmen field, dominated about 2 km. to the NE by the high point of Rujm Abū Qa'il. On the top of Rujm Abū Qa'il are the remains of an early, circular tower(?), measuring about 8.50 m. in diameter. Six rows of stone blocks 1.80 m. high are still visible in position on the south side. It is barely possible that this was the huge base of a great dolmen.

The more or less oval bench of Tell el-'Aẓeimeh is marked with the remains of a number of foundations of ancient buildings. One of these buildings, the second to the south of the ruins overlooking the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh, is oriented N-NNE by S-SSW, and is some 19 m. square, with walls 1 m. thick. The ruins of several other large buildings can be made out.[80] Sherds were predominantly Iron I-II, with a small number that could be assigned to the end of Chalcolithic and to EB I. Here again thus, is an important site of Iron I-II and earlier date, situated in a dominating position astride the tracks joining mountains and plains. Furthermore, it controls the Wâdī el-'Aẓeimeh, which marks the southernmost boundary of the cultivable sections of the Plains of Moab. Tell el-'Aẓeimeh the writer identifies with Beth hay-Yešîmôth. Its original name wandered later to the site now known as Khirbet Sweimeh.

This completes the examination of the Biblical sites located in the Plains of Moab. It has been seen that they were all located at the east edge of the Plains. They were always built on easily fortified and usually isolated hills, dominating perennial streams and strategic roads. The question of security was obviously paramount in the minds of the settlers at the beginning of the Iron Age. They chose sites for their towns and fortresses which might guard the fertile, irrigated plains from which they gained their sustenance. During the Early Iron Age each settlement was strongly fortified, whether located in lowlands or highlands. The Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Israelites lived throughout their

[80] Cf. Mallon, TG I, p. 151; Neuville, *Biblica*, XI, 1930, p. 261.

entire Early Iron Age in a state of actual or expected danger. It was an age in which fortress walls had to be built high and strong, and perpetual watch kept for lurking enemy.

In the case of the Early Iron towns of the Plains of Moab, there was one particular reason which determined their location at the base of the hills at the east edge of the Plains. This was the necessity of guarding the source of the perennial streams. It may be appropriate to emphasize here what is so well known that it is often forgotten, namely that cultivation in the entire Jordan Valley depends almost completely upon irrigation. Between the Wâdī Yarmûk and the Wâdī Yâbis a certain amount of dry cultivation is possible; farther south it is not. Were the life-giving waters cut off from most of the fields no crops could possibly grow. Of what avail would it have been to build strong fortresses during the dangerous days of the Early Iron Age at the places in the open areas of the Plains of Moab where they have generally been located—as for example Beth-harâm at Tell er-Râmeh, or Abel haš-Šiṭṭîm at Khirbet el-Kefrein, or ʿBeth hay-Yešîmôth at Khirbet Sweimeh,—if the enemy should cut off, or divert the water as it emerged from the hills into the plains? To have cut off the flow of water in the hills above would have been impracticable without a major engineering effort. Once, however, the streams emerge from their canyons in the hills and begin to flow across the plains, it is a comparatively simple task to dig ditches and divert the water. It might be said in objection to this statement, that the inhabitants of the Plains could always get water from the Jordan. They could, for drinking purposes, by walking 5-10 km. or more for it, but they had no means at their disposal for pumping. Even today, irrigation with the waters of the Jordan has been attempted at only one place on the east side of the Jordan, namely in the lands around the Iron I-II site Tell Zôr el-Meqbereh; and as the name indicates, they are situated in the Zôr, that is, along the very banks of the Jordan. The inhabitants of the entire Jordan Valley were dependent for water to irrigate their lands upon the streams that came down from the hills and coursed through the plains. Their civilization may be described with the words

"And Lot lifted up his eyes and saw all of the Kikkar of the Jordan. All of it was irrigated, . . . like a garden of God."

The location and history of the towns of the Plains of Moab can be understood only in this sense. There were four streams which traversed these plains and four fortresses which in biblical times guarded their eastern gates.

Jerusalem, March 25, 1943.

WHERE WAS ASOPHON?

Floyd V. Filson

Nelson Glueck, in his valuable article, "Three Israelite Towns in the Jordan Valley: Zarethan, Succoth, Zaphon," observes[1] that "the Asophon of the time of Alexander Jannaeus . . . is probably to be identified with Zaphon." This point has an important bearing on the conclusions reached in his article, and should be further examined.

Asophon (or Asaphon) is mentioned once in Josephus.[2] Ptolemy Lathyrus, on the west side of the Jordan, moved to attack Alexander Jannaeus, who was on the east side. The latter's location was "near a certain place called Asophon, not far from the Jordan river." Although the two armies were on opposite sides of the river, Alexander was close enough to the river so that he could "pitch his camp near the enemy." He was near enough to the river to "hinder the crossing" of the enemy, but refrained in order to make the enemy fight with the river behind them. Ptolemy won the battle, pursued Alexander's forces, and "overran the country; and when evening came, he abode in certain villages of Judea,"[3] which either implies a return to the west bank or is an unusual use of "Judea." The total impression Josephus gives is that the battle was fought very close to the river, and that Asophon was near the Jordan. Such a site as Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh has at least the merit of fitting well this reference to the location of Asophon.[4]

Glueck, however, proposes to locate the Biblical Zaphon at Tell el-Qôs, about half a kilometer from Tell 'Ammatā. If Asophon is the later Greek equivalent of the Hebrew Zaphon, this raises serious questions. It is agreed that Tell 'Ammatā was the site of Amathus, which was "a very strong fortress"[5] in the time of Alexander Jannaeus, is mentioned elsewhere in Josephus, and is reported by Eusebius as still existing in the fourth century.[6] So Asophon could not have been at Tell 'Ammatā; Josephus evidently means that Asophon and Amathus are two distinct places. From the description which Glueck gives of the pottery on Tell el-Qôs, it appears that this tell was not occupied in the time of Alexander Jannaeus. Hence, unless we take the improbable position that by "a place called Asophon" Josephus meant an uninhabited place, Asophon could not have been at Tell el-Qôs. Josephus would not have used as point of reference an abandoned site when close to it, and nearer to the Jordan, was the prominent center Amathus. Moreover, a comparison of Antiquities XIII. 12. 5 with XIII. 13. 3 indicates that Amathus was

[1] Bulletin, No. 90, pp. 2-23.

[2] Antiquities, XIII. 12. 5. The MSS of the passage leave it uncertain which spelling is original.

[3] *Ibid.*, XIII. 12. 6.

[4] Since the Survey Map marks no ford near Tell es-Sa'īdîyeh, the location of Asophon at this point may be open to some question.

[5] Antiquities, XIII. 13. 3.

[6] Onomasticon, 22. 24. Here spelled Ammathus.

not in the control of Alexander Jannaeus when he met Ptolemy near Asophon. It is difficult to believe that Alexander would have encamped near either Tell el-Qôs or Amathus while the latter place was in hostile hands.

Thus if Glueck accepts, as it seems reason to do, the identification of Asophon with Zaphon, his location of Zaphon at Tell el-Qôs encounters stubborn objections, and it is still possible to argue that Zaphon was at Tell es-Sa'īdiyeh.[7] The question is not settled.

SOME SIXTEENTH-CENTURY COPPER OBJECTS FROM TELL BEIT MIRSIM

J. L. Kelso

Through the courtesy of Mr. Robert J. Frank,[1] vice-president of the Copperweld Steel Co., and Mr. L. C. Whitney,[2] chief metallurgist, special metallurgical researches were made upon two copper objects from the Tell Beit Mirsim excavations: the adze-head S. N. 2166 (TBM II Pl. 40, No. 3, §59-60) and the mace-head S. N. 745 (TBM II Pl. 41, No. 3, §59-60). Both items were found in the D city at the close of the Middle Bronze Age.

"As received, these specimens were covered with a heavy, grayish coating in which there were numerous green patches.[3] Under this, there was a thin white deposit which adhered so tenaciously to the metal that it was difficult to remove. A sample of the incrustation, removed mechanically from the mace and adze heads, caused the pH of distilled water to be raised from 6.0 to 7.2, indicating that the conditions under which these objects existed were distinctly alkaline in nature. A distilled water digest showed the presence of very heavy chlorides, appreciable nitrates and phosphates and only a trace of sulphates. That part of the incrustation which was insoluble in distilled water was found to be composed mainly of carbonates and chlorides of copper.

"The chemical analysis of the adze-head was as follows:

Copper	=	99.25%
Iron	=	0.32%
Zinc	=	Nil
Nickel	=	Nil
Tin	=	Nil
Aluminum	=	Nil"

This copper content is of unusual purity for Palestine although a fair number of copper objects in Egypt run as high or higher. The writer estimates that good Egyptian copper runs 98% pure or slightly better, with good Palestinian copper averaging at least 1% lower.

Iron is a common impurity in both Palestine and Egypt, but this

[7] See Albright, *Annual*, VI, p. 46; Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II, p. 448, for earlier discussions.

[1] These contacts were made through the kindness of Mr. Clinton Froelich.

[2] Also working upon these objects were Mr. B. S. Lorch, chief chemist, Mr. J. A. Heidish, metallurgist, and Mr. H. F. Zinnser, laboratory assistant.

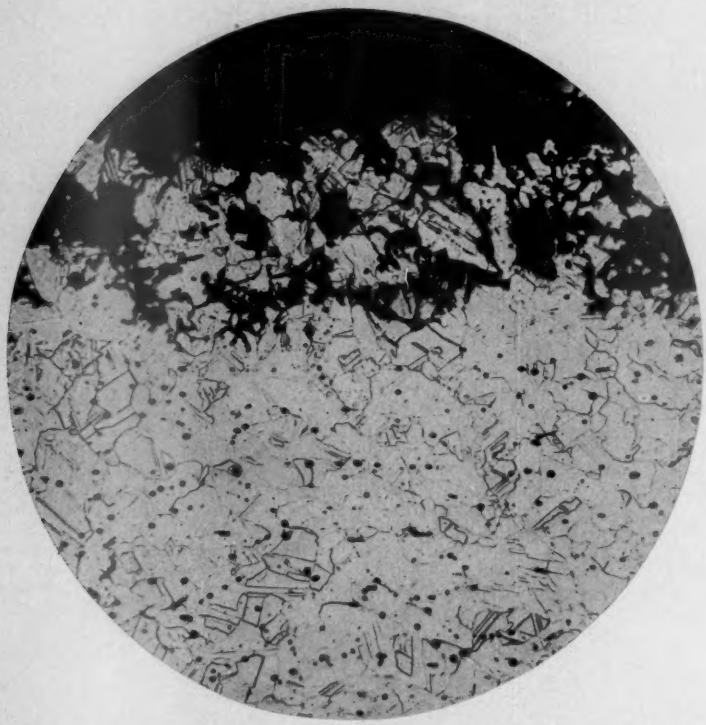
[3] All material included within quotation marks is quoted directly from Mr. Whitney's report.

figure is a low content for either country. Zinc is not often tested for in Near East coppers. Megiddo tested for zinc, but found none. At Beth-shemesh only one analysis out of fourteen showed it. A broach from the First Semitic period at Gezer contains zinc, but is doubtless misdated as it has a distinctly Hyksos formula with the proper pro-

Photomicrograph #1—Cross section at edge of adze-head. Note how corrosion has penetrated around the grain boundaries and isolated copper grains which are still in a good state of preservation. Internal crack in body of metal also shown.—165X

portions of tin and zinc for good bronze casting. Nickel is another element seldom mentioned in the older analyses. Although the adze-head showed no nickel, the mace-head did. Tell ed-Duweir and Tell el-'Ajjûl showed this element. Megiddo found none. In Palestine, tin is a rare impurity in copper objects. Metals not listed in this analysis were not tested for.

The metallurgist's report continues: "In Photomicrographs #1[4] to #3, we have shown the structure present in this sample. You will note from Photomicrographs #1 and #2 that there has been considerable grain boundary corrosion at the surface which has isolated many grains of copper. Despite this condition, many of these grains are still in a remarkably good state of preservation. Several internal cracks, such as is illustrated in Photomicrograph #1, were found in the body of the material.



Photomicrograph #2—Longitudinal section at edge of adze-head showing again how corrosion has penetrated around the grain boundaries at the surface and has isolated numerous grains.—165X

"An examination of cross and longitudinal sections revealed a hot worked structure that was generally fine grained but was interspersed with occasional extremely large grains. This condition is shown in Photomicrograph #3. Such a condition indicated that there had been insufficient hot working of the metal to break up the original cast structure. The numerous small dark colored inclusions present throughout the structure were cuprous oxide.

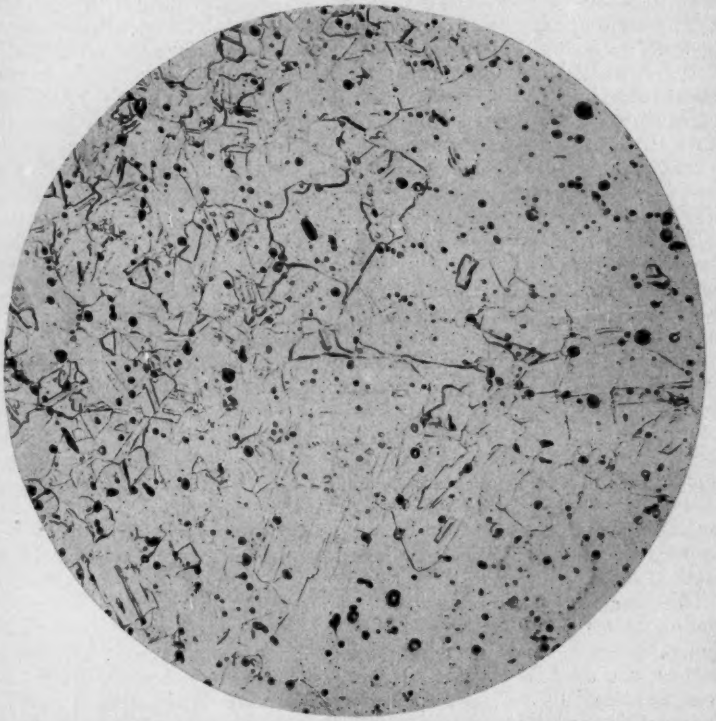
"This adze-head had a Rockwell hardness of 40-45 F scale, made with a 60 kilo-

[4] All photomicrographs were at 165 magnifications.

gram weight and a 1/16 inch penetrating ball. Compared to this, we obtained Rockwell 55 F scale on a 7/8 inch hot rolled copper rod of recent manufacture."

The over-all length of the adze-head is 13.8 cm. and its maximum width, which is at the point where the facet begins to flare out, is 4.5 cm. The facet is 1.7 cm. deep. The maximum thickness of the adze-head is .9 cm.

This adze-head had a varied history. Originally it was an axe-head, then it was reshaped as a roughing adze and finally it was used as a chisel. The original axe-head was made after the fashion of many



Photomicrograph #3—Longitudinal section of adze-head showing the extreme variation in grain size as the result of insufficient hot working to break up the cast structure.—165X

Egyptian tools. It was cast to its approximate shape in an open mold and the final form produced by cold and hot working, although the latter was not at the high temperatures commonly used for annealing today. The cutting edge was produced by cold work so as to give it greatly increased hardness as well as sharpness. The original use of this tool as an axe is demonstrated by the ratio of length and thickness, for it is more than double the average thickness in proportion to length that

is common in adzes. Furthermore splayed edges are far more common in the axe than in the adze.

At a later date, the cutting edge was reshaped from that of an axe into an adze as is proved by the facet which puts the tool into the class of a roughing adze. Also the top of the head was lightened by thinning it and narrowing it, thus lowering the center of gravity in the tool.

The adze is not intended to split wood as is the axe. The purpose of the adze is to remove shavings from a piece of wood. There are three types of adzes depending upon the kind of shaving produced. The heavy roughing adze, such as the Egyptians used for the initial fashioning work on boat timbers, makes a large shaving. The light adze, which all the Near East used for the finest finishing work, took only a very delicate shaving. It was the ancestor of the smoothing plane which was not invented until Roman times. The all-purpose adze was a cross between these two and in the hand of a good workman gave a surface similar to that produced by a modern jack plane. Our adze belonged to the first class and was probably used for the roughing out of heavy timbers of hard wood. Here the extra weight in the adze would be useful.

The Near-East carpenter of today still uses the adze as his most versatile tool, and with it the skilled craftsman does excellent work. The high value of the adze in the Egyptian carpenter's kit of antiquity is shown by the fact that the copper adze in that country was much older than the copper axe. When copper was first worked [5] there it was so expensive that the cheaper stone axe continued to be used for the initial wood working tasks and copper was reserved for the adze as the finishing tool.

Since the handle of an adze was tied on and that usually at an acute angle, the handle was used primarily for directing the blow rather than applying force, therefore the adze-head must carry some weight in itself. This weight is well distributed by using a long narrow head which concentrates the blow on a short cutting edge which carries a facet to help produce the proper depth of the shaving and to carry it away from the point of cutting.

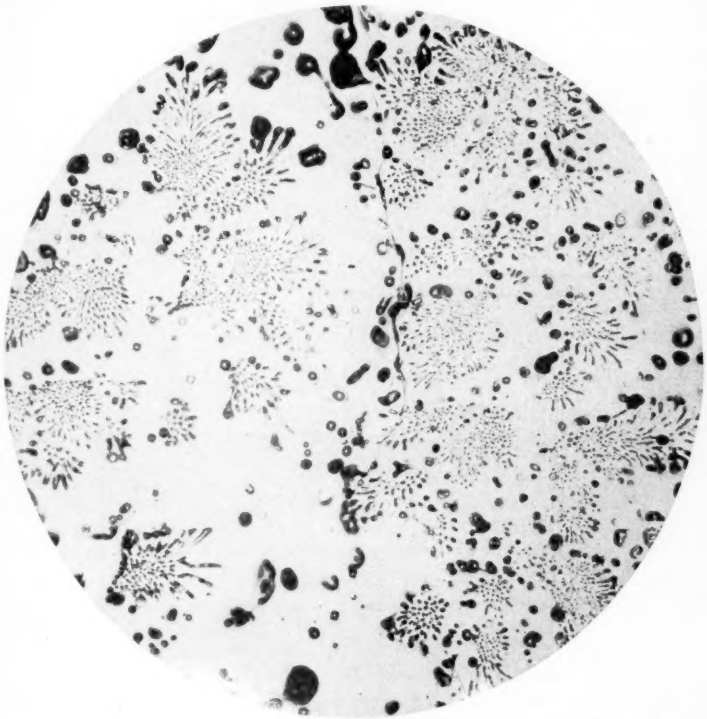
This lengthened head also permits a longer and therefore a stronger binding area for the handle. The head is usually tied on with interlaced thongs of leather put on while wet. Englebach suggests that donkey leather was used in Egypt.[6] This handle design, however, could have been improved by the use of a socketed handle. When copper was first known this mistake could be excused both because of the expense of the amount of metal needed for the socket and the cost of hammering the metal into a complex shape. Later, however, a socket similar to that in use on some other tools should have been developed; and after the Hyksos had introduced a closed mold, there was no longer any

[5] The earliest axe-heads yet found in Palestine, from the first half of the fourth millennium, are, as pointed out by Koeppel, obvious imitations of stone axe-heads, as shown by their form and extreme thickness in proportion to their length. The closest analogies in shape are from the European Neolithic. Unexpectedly, these axe-heads are of bronze, with 7% tin (see Mallon, *Teleilāt Ghassūl*, I, 76 f.), as is some of the earliest copper yet found in Babylonia.—W. F. A.

[6] S. R. K. Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt*, p. 138.

excuse for the old primitive handle technique. But perhaps we should not condemn these Middle Bronze people too severely for this oversight, since Petrie says that this socketed handle for the adze did not come in until Roman and Persian times.

The injured condition of the adze-head shows that at the time it was last used, it was no longer serving as an adze-head but as a chisel for



Photomicrograph #4—Section of mace-head showing the cast structure with a very considerable amount of copper-copper oxide eutectic. The single grain boundary shown in this photomicrograph gives an idea of the very coarse grain structure in this specimen.—165X

stone or metal. The top of the head had been hammered and burred over, whereas the top of an ancient adze was never hammered. Its cutting edge tells the same story. The adze of necessity originally carried a keen cutting edge, but the edge as found had been chipped and flattened and a section of it actually turned over on the facet. Few Egyptian tools show an injured cutting edge.

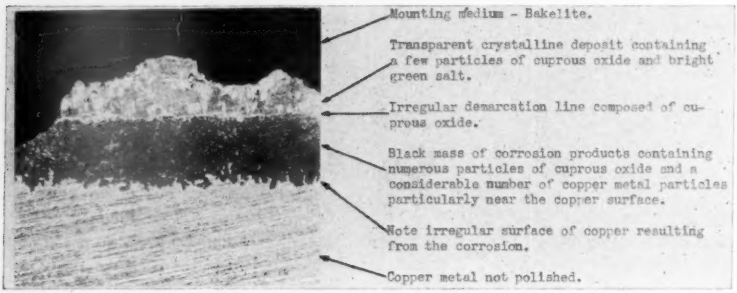
Before cleaning the adze-head showed a warty condition on one side. After it was cleaned irregular pit-marks showed at this point. Since

copper has the most uniform corrosion rate of any common metal this condition was doubtless occasioned by some chemical in the soil which like sulphur had a destructive influence on copper; or some other element set up an electrical action with the copper and thus caused this pitting.

"The mace-head had the following chemical analysis:

Copper	=	96.87%
Nickel	=	0.10%
Zinc	=	Nil
Iron	=	Nil
Aluminum	=	Nil
Tin	=	Nil"

This time the copper content runs at about a general average for Palestinian copper objects. The absence of iron is unusual. The nickel percentage is the same as in two daggers from Tell el-'Ajjûl. Two copper lumps from Tell ed-Duweir run 0.07% each, but all of these run iron also against our negative to iron. Although the nickel formulas of the ancient coppers tested by the British Committee investigating the com-


Mounting medium - Bakelite.
Transparent crystalline deposit containing a few particles of cuprous oxide and bright green salt.
Irregular demarcation line composed of cuprous oxide.
Black mass of corrosion products containing numerous particles of cuprous oxide and a considerable number of copper metal particles particularly near the copper surface.
Note irregular surface of copper resulting from the corrosion.
Copper metal not polished.

Photomacrograph (#5)—Section of mace-head with surface deposit and patina. Outer layer appears to be an accumulation from surrounding media. Inner layer is apparently a complex mineral resulting from corrosion of the base metal. The irregular metal surface indicates that there has been a preferential attack on the copper.—20X

position of Sumerian and other Near East coppers were consulted, none was found similar to this mace-head. Metals not listed in the analysis were not tested for.

In commenting upon the mace-head, the metallurgist states: "The amount of sample removed from this specimen for chemical analysis was too small to allow for an oxygen determination, but from our microscope examination, we would estimate that about 0.3% oxygen was present in this copper. Photomicrograph #4 shows the mace-head to have a cast structure with a considerable amount of copper-copper oxide eutectic present. The presence of such a high oxygen content may have been intentional to increase the hardness of the metal.

"The section mounted included a portion of the original deposit on the mace-head as it was received. This coating was so brittle that it could only be polished by hand. It was found to be quite soluble in an ammoniacal hydrogen peroxide solution so that it could not be examined if the copper was etched with this reagent. A

[7] The photomacrograph was at 20 magnifications.

low-magnification picture of this area is shown in Photomacrograph #5.[7] The outer layer appears to be more of an accumulation of deposit, rather than the result of a mineralizing action on the copper. It contains only a very small amount of cuprous oxide and, with the exception of a few small areas of bright green compound, it is practically colorless and, therefore, does not appear to contain copper.

"The inner layer which is separated from the outer layer by an irregular band of cuprous oxide appears to be a complex mineral resulting from corrosion of the copper. The mineralizing action is not complete and the black corrosion products contain numerous particles of cuprous oxide and copper, the copper particles being greatest in number near the main body of metal. The surface of the metal is very irregular as a result of the attack."

After the mace-head was cleaned it showed a maximum height of 4.4 cm. and a maximum width of 4.5 cm. The diameter of the socket was 2.0 cm. and its depth 3.2 cm. Its interior was rough and somewhat irregular rather than a good circle. The mace-head is finished off with a rolled rim where it fitted into the wooden handle and it was held in place by two rivets. The holes for these are just above the rolled rim and are directly opposite one another. The diameter of the holes are approximately 4 mm. and the thickness of the mace-head at this point is approximately the same. The holes were apparently in the original casting and not drilled afterwards. The mace-head when uncleaned appeared to have the usual pear shape, but upon cleaning it was seen to be a defective piece of casting with one side of the mace-head much heavier than the other, thus seriously reducing the balance of the weapon.

It is to be noted that both objects are copper and not bronze, although they are dated at the close of Middle Bronze II when the city was captured by the first kings of the XVIIIth dynasty, some two centuries after bronze had been introduced into Palestine. The military value of the mace-head would not have been improved by an added tin content, but a proper tin content in the case of the adze-head would have greatly improved its cutting edge. With certain formulas bronze can have almost twice the hardness of copper whether as a cast piece or a hammered one.

It looks as if tin were not yet plentiful enough in Palestine for bronze tools to run copper tools out of the market. This was true in Egypt also. In both countries copper tools continue on with bronze tools, but in decreasing percentages. This economic lag in the use of tools and weapons is also shown by the presence of a well-fashioned haematite mace-head found in the same house as the copper mace-head.

The distinctly different formulas of the two pieces show that although they were found in the same city the ores from which they were made came from quite different mines. It is too early, however, in metallurgical studies to try to identify the sources of these ores.

Through the courtesy of Mr. R. B. Meneilly, metallurgical engineer of tin plate, Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, a few other objects were cleaned for study, but no metallographical studies were made.

One item was a dagger S. N. 757 (TBM Pl. 41, No. 6; §59). Its maximum length after cleaning was 14.6 cm. and its maximum width was 4.9 cm. The dagger's point and one edge were well preserved. The other edge was more corroded. One side of the dagger was almost perfectly preserved, but the other showed a warty condition toward the point and irregular corrosion patches toward the handle. The dagger represents a very fine piece of hammered work with a heavy midriff which thins off quickly into a wide blade. The rivet holes show clearly that they were carefully punched through the metal so as not to misshape the blade in any way. One rivet is

preserved. Its head is very thin but broad. No inscription or distinguishing mark of any kind was found on the dagger.

Small socketed javelin-head S. N. 1853 (TBM II Pl. 41, No. 18, §59): maximum length after cleaning 9.4 cm. and maximum width 1.8 cm. Considerable corrosion had eaten into both head and socket although it was worse on one side than on the other. It was an all-hammered piece. The socket had been hammered about a form and then the point was finished. The seam of the socket is not along the perpendicular axis of the javelin-head, but follows the angle of the metal as it was shaped on the form.

Small tanged javelin-head S. N. 502 (not described or photographed in TBM volumes): maximum length after cleaning 8.5 cm. but part of tang is missing; maximum width 1.9 cm. The point had hit a hard object such as a wall and had been turned back at a right angle. This point is badly corroded as is natural from the injury to this section of the grain structure of the metal in contrast to the uninjured section of the javelin-head. The face of the javelin-head is almost as clean as new, but the reverse is somewhat corroded. One edge has much of the original sharpness, but the other edge is more or less missing. Each original facet from the cutting edge to the midriff is 6 mm. It looks like a cast job from a one piece mold, but it is too thin to have been cast. On the other hand the accurate midriff edges would probably not be made by ordinary hammering. The most likely method of manufacture was that the javelin-head was hammered when hot into a bronze die.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL GLEANINGS I

A. Leo Oppenheim

I

The Neo-Babylonian personal name *Ša-pî-kalbi* has puzzled Assyriologists for a long time and has finally been correctly interpreted by Stamm, *Namengebung* (MVAeG 44) p. 320 f. as "Who (has been snatched) from the mouth of the dog(s)" (for previous translations cf. Stamm, *loc. cit.*, p. 320, n. 2). Stamm refers for this name (and for the name *Ina-pî-kalbi-irih* "He has been saved |lit.: was left over| from the mouth of the dog(s)") to a passage in the series *ana ittišu* (cf. Landsberger, MSL I, 44, line 32 ff.) where the discovery and subsequent adoption of a foundling is described with the words: "he (the adoptant) has snatched him (the foundling) from the mouth of the dog(s)" and "he (the foundling) has been found in a pit." He therefore considers *Ša-pî-kalbi* as a characteristic name of a foundling, describing its discovery as an exposed child in the street, threatened by the roving dogs of an Oriental city.

In my opinion, however, this name is too frequent to favor such a rather sentimental interpretation and I propose therefore the following somewhat different view suggested by a contemporary legal tablet.

The first five lines of the damaged text Strassmaier Nbk 439 run as follows:

an-nu-tu amêlmu-kin-ni-e šá ina pa-ni-šú-nu
[sal - -]*-ra-a amêl*[ ]*-tum*(?)(-)*x-šú a-na*
[*pî-i*] *kal-bi ta-aš-su-qú mNûr-dŠamaš*
[*i*]*š*(!)*-tu pi-i kal-bi iš-šu-ú-'-ma*
[*amêlmukinnu:*]

" these are the witnesses in the presence of whom the [lady X]-*ra-a* has thrown her(!) . . . to [the mouth of] the dog(s) (and) *Nûr-*^{d}*Shamash* has taken (him) away from the mouth of the dog(s) and [has . . . -ed (him). Witness:]"

This text obviously describes a staged exposure of an infant(?) (on our copy the denomination of the subject of this transaction is unfortunately illegible) and the subsequent adoption by a man named *Nûr-*^{d}*Shamash*. The relation between the lady and the child(?) is unknown but it clearly results from the context that she disposed of it by placing it before " the mouth of the dogs," i. e. on the street. The partner took the child up (cf. German: " aufnehmen, an Kindes statt ") again: " from the mouth of the dogs." These two symbolic activities are denoted by the legal phrases *ana pî kalbi nasâqu* " to throw to the mouth of the dog(s) " and *ištu pî kalbi našû* " to take from the mouth of the dog(s)."[a b]

I suppose that the personal name *Ša-pî-kalbi* is therefore more likely to refer to the just described particular type of adoption than to the fact that the named person escaped the ignominious death of being devoured by the dogs.

II

The circumstantially styled maledictions in the legal texts of the Middle- and Neo-Babylonian period refer, generally speaking, to three spheres of the life of the law-breaker or the violator of the recorded agreements: to his physical well-being, his financial situation and finally to his existence in the Nether-world. The repertoire of phrases, allusions and terms used by the scribes of these documents is rather stereotyped but it represents nevertheless an important source of information which has not yet been systematically studied.

Only very rarely does the scribe use a new phrase, alluding to certain popular concepts not attested in other literary sources. This is, e. g., the case in the malediction recorded on the damaged text BE VIII/1 4: rev. 1-6, which adds a new feature to Mesopotamian ideas concerning the existence in the Nether-world:

šá da-ba-bu an-na-' innûú dA(!)-na[m][1] *dEllil*
u dÉ-a ár(!)-ra-ta m[a]-r[u](!)-uš-tam la na[p-šu-r]u
li-ru-ru ù la i-gam-mi-il nap-šat-su
dŠamaš daian šamê u irṣitimtim aplu na-qa me-e
li-ki-in-šu-ma ina s[a g].du *irṣitimtim ⌜eṭimmu-šú*
li-ṣa(!)-ma-' ki-ib-su

" Who(ever) alters this agreement, may Anu, Ellil and Ea curse (him) with an evil curse and may they not spare his life! May Shamash, judge

[a] [This Babylonian parallel seems to explain the curious expression, Psalms 22: 21 (20), " Save my soul from the sword, *yeḥîdātî* from the dog(s)." As shown clearly by Psalms 35: 17, this word, meaning literally " my only (child)," is metaphorically used for " soul "; originally, however, there is an obvious play on words, with reference to saving an only child (masculine, Zech. 12: 10, etc.; feminine, Jud. 11: 34) from the dogs.—W. F. A.]

[b] Cf. the Neo-Babylonian curse given by Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest*, II, p. 20 (cf. Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, p. 48), which ends: " May (the gods) destroy from the land his name and his seed; and may they put his flesh into the mouth of the dog(s) (*ina pî ša kalbi*)."

[1] *nam* has here the value *num*$_{x}$.

of heaven and earth, rob him of his son (who) offers the libation-water (for him) and may he immobilize his ghost in the (remotest) corner of the Nether-world!"

The phrase *ina qaqqad irṣitim eṭimmušu liṣamma' kibsu* is unique in the repertoire of the scribes. My translation of *ṣummû kibsu* "to make thirst," i. e. "long for (a) step (movement)" is suggested by similar *kudurrû*-phrases, e. g. Scheil, DP II, 109, VI: 53 "as long as he (the leper) lives make him long for (be deprived of) his house (*bît-su li-ṣa-mi-ma*), or Scheil, DP VI, 41, III: 21, *li-ṣa-am-mi* ^{d}*Aš-na-an* (also Seidman, *Adadnirari II*, line 68 [MAOG IX/3 p. 24], Thompson CT XXII, 222: 8, etc.).[1a] For my interpretation of *ina qaqqad irṣitim* "at the rim of the Nether-world" cf. my article "Idiomatic Accadian" in JAOS 61 p. 255s (sub *rêšu*).

The banishment of the ghost (*eṭimmu*) of the law-breaker to the rim of the Nether-world means his separation from the ghosts of his family. This is borne out by another *kudurrû*-passage misunderstood by Scheil DP VI p. 38 V: 22 [*eṭimmu-šú*] *a-na eṭim kim(!)-ti-šú a-a is-ni-iq* "may [his ghost] not join the ghost(s) of his family." This shows that the entire clan hoped to endure together their existence in the shadows beyond the grave in a continuation of their life in this world. It was therefore considered a special hardship to be separated from his kin in the Nether-world.

As to *na-qa me-e* I should like to note that only the second of the three duties of the ritual for the death is mentioned in the *kudurrû*-texts; these duties are: *ka-sap ki-is-pi* "offering food," *na-aq me-e* "pouring a libation (of cold water)" and *za-kar šu-me* "pronouncing of the name (of the dead)"[2] (from CT XVI, pl. 10, V: 10-14).

III

The Neo-Assyrian letter, Harper ABL 555, contains an interesting and so far unnoticed allusion to some story, proverbial saying or fable popular in that period.

eṭlu šá si-bít ni-ši iṣ-bat-u-ni ina nâri iṭ-ṭib-bu šá si-bít še-li-bi iṣ-bat-u-ni u-si-zib (rev. 3-6)

"The man whom seven lions have attacked (lit.: seized) was (finally) drowned (lit.: sunk) in the river, (but) the one whom seven foxes have attacked, he was saved!"

The text continues (l. 7-10) "He trusts in (his(?)) . . . silver and in gold but I trust in the king, my lord! [end of the letter]."

The story alluded to in this passage dealt most likely with the ad-

[1a] [Cf. the expression *ša êribušu ṣummû nûra*, "whose enterer is deprived of light," in the Descent of Ishtar. In view of *eṭimmêšunu kispi nâq mê uṣammêšunûti* (Rassam Cylinder of Aššûr-bân-apli, vi: 75 f.), "I deprived their shades of food-offerings and libators," I propose that *kipsu* in the above text be explained as originally metathesis for *kispu*, like *tikpu* for *tipku*, etc. The misunderstanding on the part of the ancient scribes would be quite natural.—W. F. A.]

[2] The pronouncing of the name of the dead has no sentimental reasons but is meant to attract the attention of his roving spirit and to summon him to the place of the offering. Cf. the Seleucid text, Langdon, RA XII, p. 74, line 28, *la-ba-an ap-pi u za-kar šu-mu* "prostration and pronouncing of the name (of the god)."

ventures of two men, one attacked by lions, the other the harmless foxes. The man who escaped the lions had no luck because he presently drowned in the river while his companion survived this calamity and was saved. The moral of the story could be that somebody who is doomed may escape even seven lions to meet his fate eventually in the (harmless ?) river. But this is only a guess.

THE FURNITURE OF EL IN CANAANITE MYTHOLOGY

W. F. Albright

Though we have been cut off in America from French publications in the field of Ugaritic studies since 1940,[1] it is still possible to make many contributions in detail to the understanding of the previously published texts. Since my latest article on the subject in the Bulletin,[2] I have contributed a few observations to other publications. Otherwise little has been published in this field. Just out are two pertinent items: Cyrus H. Gordon's handsome little book *The Loves and Wars of Baal and Anat*, which provides an excellent popular introduction to the field but limits itself wisely to a number of the best-understood passages; [3] H. L. Ginsberg's fine article, "The Ugaritic Texts and Textual Criticism." [4]

In the first column of the second part of the Baal Epic which was published by Virolleaud—but which probably preceded the first published tablet—there is an exceedingly difficult passage (lines 31-44) which was not translated by the first editor, whose comments on words show that he did not understand it at all.[5] When I tackled this text in 1934, I gave the passage up as a bad job.[6] In the same year T. H. Gaster tried his hand, but too little comparative material was available, and he also failed.[7] H. L. Ginsberg translated a few phrases the following year, but prudently avoided the obscurities.[8] Meanwhile Zellig Harris had correctly explained the structure of the passage,[9] and A. Goetze

[1] My remarks in the Bulletin, No. 82 (1941), p. 43, were a little too pessimistic. From news that has crept through censorship it appears that Virolleaud has published another tablet of the important Keret Epic in *Syria*, XXII (1941), pp. 105-136, and that a number of other pertinent articles have appeared in *Syria* and the *Revue d'Assyriologie* since 1940. From Engnell's dissertation (see below), which itself devotes nearly a hundred pages to the study of the Ugaritic myths, I also quote a reference to Eissfeldt's paper, "Bestand und Benennung der Ras-Schamra-Texte" (*Zeits. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, 96, 1942, pp. 507-539).

[2] No. 84 (1941), pp. 14-17. Note further since then Albright and Mendenhall, "The Creation of the Composite Bow in Canaanite Mythology," *Jour. Near East. Stud.*, I, 1942, pp. 227-29 (on Dan'el II, vi: 20-25); Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 1942, pp. 68 ff., 106 ff., 149 ff., 156 ff., 166, and often in the notes; *Annual* XXI-XXII (1943), p. 24, n. 9.

[3] See below in my notices of recent publications.

[4] *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1943, pp. 109-115.

[5] *Syria*, XIII, pp. 114, 118 ff.

[6] *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, XIV, p. 117: "The rest of the column eludes interpretation."

[7] *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1934, pp. 683 f.

[8] *Kitvê Ugarit*, 1936, pp. 20 f.

[9] In J. A. Montgomery, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, 1933, p. 116.

and U. Cassuto were able to offer the first coherent renderings in 1938.[10] Goetze missed some details in the first part of the passage, but his rendering of the last three lines was happier and has provided my own starting-point. Cassuto's interpretation was better than Goetze's in a number of respects, but I overlooked it until after my translation was completed. I want to thank Mr. John H. Patton for calling my attention to it. Again we see that the cooperation of successive students is necessary, and that no one man can hope to solve most of the difficulties with which Ugaritic mythological poems swarm.

In the preceding lines (24-30) we read: "Hiyân[11] went up to the bellows, in (his) hand he grasped[12] the tongs; he melted silver, he hammered gold; he melted silver by thousands (of shekels), gold he melted by myriads (of shekels); he melted *ḫym* and *tbsḫ*."[13] The text continues:

[31] *kt . 'il . dt . rbtm*	The dais[14] of El, worth twenty thou-
[32] *kt . 'il . ⟨d⟩-nbt . b-ksp*	sand (shekels),

[10] *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, 1938, p. 269, n. 8; *Orientalia*, 1938, pp. 274 ff. Two inexplicable errors in the transliteration of characters in lines 31 and 42 hampered Goetze's interpretation.

[11] *Hiyân* is an appellation of Kôshar, the Canaanite Vulcan, for whom cf. *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 81 f. and the notes. The name is formed like Heb. *Ṣiyôn*, "Zion," and is, accordingly, to be derived from *hwy*, "to fall, befall, come to pass, be," but its original meaning is quite uncertain. I suggest that it appears in the Bible, Hab. 2: 5a, where the text was already so obscure that the first words seem to have been omitted by the Greek and Syriac translators. I tentatively propose the following reading:

wᵉ-'ap-kî yahir kᵉ-Hiyôn	*gébeʿ bôgéd lô-yinwê*
"And though he be crafty as Hiyôn,	a faithless man shall not succeed."

Since Hiyôn was the archetype of all ingenuity, whether of hand or brain, the line is evidently of Canaanite proverbial origin (note that in my translation of *lô-yinwê* I follow the LXX literally and that in my translation of *yahîr* I follow the rhyme-word *mahîr*, but keep the pejorative connotation which the word has in Aramaic, as well as in the ancient versions). All consonants of the Massoretic text have been kept in this reconstruction, in which the four middle words have been rearranged. The original displacement was evidently caused by *homoioarkton*, the scribe's eye wandering forward from the letters *k( )hy* to the *khy* of the next word. The following two words have the same consonants (since *d* = *r* in most Hebrew alphabets) and could easily be transposed. The rest of the verse also has Canaanite literary material, as first pointed out by Cassuto (cf. BULLETIN, No. 83, p. 41, n. 15). It is quoted against Assyria, as shown by the next verses, and seems to have been written about 615 B.C.

[12] See *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, 1934, p. 117, n. 59. Ginsberg prefers to treat *ḫss* as another appellation of *Hiyân*, found in *Kôtharu-wa-Ḥasisu*, but this leaves the syntax of the passage inadequately explained.

[13] The Ugaritic spelling was *tbṯḫ*; I give the phonetic form. Neither of the words has yet been explained, though they obviously refer to metals, possibly to tin and lead.

[14] Since this word agrees with a feminine relative pronoun, it is feminine and cannot be derived from *ktt*, "to hammer, forge." It is shown by lines 34 f. to be something on which throne and footstool were standing, and must, accordingly, be identified with Aram. *kannâ*, *kannᵉtâ*, "stand, bottom, foundation, basis," and Heb. *ken*, "stand, place where one stands." Vocalize *kittu* for **kintu* or *kattu* for **kantu*. Cassuto compares Accad. *kûtu* (correct to *kutû*), "vessel."

[33] *šmrg (?) t . bdm . ḫrṣ*	the dais of El, (which) [15] is cast [16] from silver, (and) encrusted (?) [17] with [17a] gold—
[34] *kḫt . 'il . nḫt* [35] *b-ẓr⟨ḥ⟩ . hdm . 'il (!)* [36] *d-prš'a . b-br*	The throne of El rests upon it,[18] the footstool of El, which is covered with leather (?) [19] outside;[20]—
[37] *n'l . 'il . d . (!) qblbl* [38] *'ln . yblh-m . ḫrṣ*	The litter (?) [21] of El, for which men used to fight (?),[22] whose two (?) poles (?) [23] are gold;[24]
[39] *ṯlḫn . 'il . d-ml'a* [40] *mnm . dbbm . d-* [41] *mṡdt . 'arṣ*	The table of El, which is full of everything [25]

[15] This letter was probably omitted by haplography, since *l* and *d* are almost identical in shape and *d* was written by mistake for *l* in line 35, as generally recognized.

[16] Galling (*Or. Lit.-zeit.*, 1936, 595) has correctly combined this form with *nbb*, "be hollow." Mr. Z. Gotthold has called my attention independently to Ex. 27: 8, etc.: *nᵉbûb lûḥôt*, which the Greek text (third century B.C.) renders "hollow (and) boarded over," i.e., "cast." Vocalize approximately *nubbat* for **núbibat*, passive perfect *qal* of *nbb*, "hollow out."

[17] Virolleaud's copy resembles *g* more closely than *ḫ* or *z*. The photograph on Pl. XXX does not help. Aram. *mrg* means "strike, beat," and Arab. *'amraja* has preserved the derived sense "to break (a pact)." Cassuto translates as I do, reading *šmrḫt*.

[17a] We should expect *bm* in parallelism with *b* in the preceding line; *bdm* is either a scribal error for *bm* or idiomatic (lit., in the hand of").

[18] The context demands this restitution of *h*, obviously lost by haplography before the following *h*.

[19] The quadriliteral *prš'a* is otherwise unknown but like other verbs of this type, it probably has a rather transparent derivation from common triliteral verbs, on the principle of contamination described in *Jew. Quar. Rev.*, 1923, pp. 504 f.: cf. perhaps Accad. *parâšu* = Arab. *frš* "to spread (carpet, etc.)," and Accad. *parâ'u*, "to cut off," whence *pâru*, "skin," for **par'u*.

[20] This is naturally Aramaic *bᵉbārâ*, "outside"; in Ugaritic it would be *ba-barri* (Syriac *barrâ*). Cassuto suggests Sumerian *babbar*, "light." (??)

[21] Scarcely "shoe," as hitherto rendered ("shoe" is apparently *s'en* = Aram. *sênâ*, Heb. *sôn* (*s'n*) and Accad. *šênu* [all perhaps from an Old-Accad. **ša'nu* = Eth. *šâ'n*] in Ugaritic, just as "head" is *r'eš* = Heb. *rôš* and Aram. *rêšâ*). I should derive the word from the stem which appears in Accadian as *ne'êlu*, *na'âlu*, "to lie down, sleep," whence *mayyalu* for **man'alu*, "bed." The Accadian word has no known etymology; it cannot well be identified with Heb.-Arab. *nḥl* (cf. Gesenius-Buhl, *ad voc.*), and may better be connected with Heb. *n'l*, "to bind, close, lock." Cassuto also rejects the rendering "shoe."

[22] On this formation and its use cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch[28], pp. 159 f.; vocalize *qubalbila*. Cf. Accad. *qablu*, "battle," *muqtablu*, "warrior," *qabâlu*, *qitbulu*, "to fight," originally "to confront."

[23] Since this phrase is obviously a second relative clause, with ellipsis of the relative *d* (which is found before the first correlated clause in the preceding line), we may vocalize approximately *yâbilâhu-mi* (enclitic), "its two carriers," i.e., the two poles which supported it, like the Hebrew *baddîm* of the Ark, which were also overlaid with gold.

[24] It is possible that a short word has been lost, but since there are eight syllables in the hemistich as it stands, this is not likely.

[25] Accad. *minumme*, etc., "everything," now well known in Ugaritic; cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, p. 28, 5. 42. Ginsberg showed long since that Phoenician *mnm* is the same word, not a word for "vases," as Cassuto still suggests.

(of) beasts[26] from the foundations[27] of the earth;

[42] *ṣ' . 'il . d-qt . k-n(!) mr<t(?)>* The bed[28] of El, which is stuffed[29] like
[43] *sknt . k-ḫwt . Ym'an* a tame (?)[30] leopardess (?),[31]
[44] *d-bh . r'umm . l-rbbt* like a python[32] of Yam'an[33]
where[34] are wild oxen by
myriads.

Most of the objects made by Hîyân are familiar from inscriptions and monumental representations. Throne (Amarna *kaḫšu* for Canaanite *kaḫšu*), footstool (probably *hadumu*, borrowed in Egyptian as *hadmu*), table and bed are familiar; two of them have the same names as in the Bible. The raised platform or dais on which the royal throne was set, is also frequently represented in the monuments and is referred to in the Bible. The litter or palanquin was also familiar in the ancient Near East; in our text it apparently serves as a kind of palladium, in which the image of El was placed in order to lead his followers to victory in battle. It is well known that the nomadic Arabs formerly placed sacred objects or representations of deity in litters or cages on the back of

[26] Obviously Arab. *dâbbatu*^{n}, "beasts," with similar words for "reptile, insect, beast of burden, bear," all from *dbb*, "to crawl, creep." I suspect that we should render "reptiles" here. In the remote, partly subterranean region where El resided, were believed to be many succulent animals. *Dbbm* seems to be an adverbial accusative.

[27] The expressions *môs^{e}dê 'ereṣ, môs^{e}dôt ha-'âreṣ, môs^{e}dôt tebél*, etc., are also very common in the Bible; both there and in Ugaritic they refer to the regions underlying the earth, but not included in the nether-world of the shades. In Accadian these regions, also abounding in all good things, were known as the Apsû, where the god of fertility, Ea, resided.

[28] This word has been happily explained as "mattress" by Goetze and Cassuto, who compare it with Heb. *yaṣû', maṣṣa'*. Perhaps vocalize *ṣû'u*, like Heb. *bûl* from *y^{e}bûl* (properly **yabûl*), "produce."

[29] Goetze's difficulty about gender may be eliminated by treating the initial *d* as the relative pronoun (required in any case, as recognized by Goetze, who assumes haplography) and explaining *qt* as a passive (*qîta*) from Arab.-Accad. *qâtu(w)*, "to nourish," etc.

[30] Cf. Heb. *skn*, "to take care of," or Arabic *skn*, "be quiet, peaceful," both ultimately derived from *škn*, "to place, set, put." Tame leopards have long been used for hunting purposes in the Near East. They would be kept sleek in order to avert disaster to men or flocks.

[31] Virolleaud's *'a* (which Goetze turns inadvertently into *'i*) is hatched, indicating damaged surface (nothing can be made out of the photograph). Since the preceding *k* ends with another horizontal wedge we must naturally read *nmr*, "leopard," or *nmrt*, considering that *r* also ends in a horizontal stroke which may have been confused with the single horizontal stroke which represents *t*. In view of the following feminine adjective, the latter is probably correct. Note that the photograph indicates crowding.

[32] Aram. *ḥiwyâ*, Arab. *ḥayyatu*^{n}, with Goetze.

[33] This region is elsewhere mentioned in the Ugaritic texts. For my conjecture that it refers to the region of Aleppo see BULLETIN, No. 77, p. 31, n. 49. It may however, be the Ghâb, an extensive marshy region on the Middle Orontes, on which cf. R. Thoumin, *Le Ghâb*, Grenoble, 1936. Note that the marshes of *Šmk*, perhaps the Hûleh region, are also said to be full of wild bulls ('Anat et la Génisse, ii: 9, 12).

[34] Literally "in which"—referring to Yam'an, not to the snake as thought by Goetze. The python was sleek because of the abundance of calves available for food.

camels, which accompanied their military expeditions.[35] According to Philo of Byblus the principal deity of Byblus (El) possessed a very sacred image, which was placed in a portable shrine drawn by two oxen.[36] Philo's statement applies to the first century A. D.; a millennium and a half earlier the image of the god may have been placed on a litter carried by priests, just as priests carried the slightly later Ark of the Covenant.[37] We need refer only to the description of the Ark in Ex. 25: 10 ff., where the poles with which the Ark was carried are said to have been completely overlaid with gold, just as in our case, if our rendering is correct.

The poetic form of our passage merits a few words. Little has been done with Ugaritic verse-form since my initial remarks in 1932,[38] followed by a brief but admirable statement by Ginsberg in 1936[39] and by a valuable chapter on poetical style in Gordon's *Ugaritic Grammar* (1940); cf. also Dussaud, *Revue de Paris*, 1937, pp. 208 ff. In our passage we have three pairs of hemistichs forming complete stichs with 3 + 3 meter; we also have two tricola or groups of three hemistichs, 3 + 3 + 3.[40] This last type is much more common in the Bible than realized; recently I pointed out an instance in Habakkuk 3: 6-7, which was either quoted from Canaanite sources or was strongly influenced by these sources.[41] Ugaritic meter was apparently both accentual and syllabic, that is, it was based on dominant word-accent, but the syllables seem to have been counted, since one finds striking agreement. Allowing for occasional elision of final short vowels and syncope of medial unaccented short vowels, I count nine syllables in the average Canaanite hemistich; ten seem to be fairly common and eight are occasionally found. The regu-

[35] Cf. the material gathered by Morgenstern from Hartmann, Doughty and other sources, *Heb. Un. Col. Ann.*, XVII (1943), pp. 153 ff.

[36] Cf. Clemen, *Mitt. Vord.-aeg. Ges.*, 42, 3 (1939), p. 23 and my remarks, *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1941, p. 210 (as well as Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, pp. 228 f.). The deity in question is called *Agruēros* or *Agrótēs* by Philo; since the latter word means "rustic, peasant, hunter" in Greek, we may probably emend the former name to *Agróteros*, with the same meaning. This appellation may correspond to South-Canaanite **'Agôru* = Ugaritic *'Ugâru*, "Field" (in *Gapnu-wa-'Ugâru*, "Vineyard-and-Field"), especially since form and meaning of *'agôru* and *agros* correspond so closely; on this deity see BULLETIN, No. 83, p. 41, n. 19, and No. 85, p. 14, n. 2, and for the vocalization see *Studies in the History of Culture* (*Leland Volume*), p. 16, n. 9. There is a representation of a deity seated in a shrine on a sled drawn by an ox which has been published by Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, VI, 3/4, p. 223.

[37] On the Ark as a portable naos see particularly May, *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, LII (1936), pp. 215-234. To be sure, this was probably not the most important aspect of the Ark, which was properly a portable box, as shown by its name and the description of its appearance.

[38] *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, pp. 206 f.

[39] *Orientalia*, 1936, p. 171.

[40] Note that, following Ley and Haupt, among others, I use the term "hemistich" to mean a metric unit with two or three accented feet, called by many contemporary scholars a "stich." Similarly, "stich" corresponds to the more popular "distich." Since all external evidence supports this nomenclature, it must be regarded as the more rational one. On the general theory of metrics as applied to Hebrew see the standard treatment by Sievers, *Metrische Studien* (*Abh. phil.-hist. Cl. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, XXI, 1), 1901, pp. 3 ff.

[41] BULLETIN, No. 82, p. 49; contrast Irwin, *Jour. Near East Stud.*, 1942, p. 23, n. 40.

larity in the number of syllables must be connected with the fact that these poems were chanted with simple melodies adapted to regular poetic syllabification, not as psalms and liturgies are chanted today in ecclesiastical music, where almost any number of syllables can be accommodated to the melody. It is scarcely necessary to add that modern Christian chanting arose after the translation of sacred texts from verse into prose, and that modern Jewish cantillation goes back substantially to Byzantine, not to Canaanite-Hebrew models. Much Accadian poetry is translated from Sumerian.

PUBLICATIONS RECENTLY RECEIVED BY THE EDITOR

I. The Archaeology of Palestine

For many years there has been an acute need, felt throughout the English-speaking world, for a really popular, yet comprehensive and up-to-date book on the archaeology of Palestine. Two years ago our president, Millar Burrows, published an admirable introduction to biblical archaeology under the title, *What Mean These Stones* (New Haven, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1941), which digested the results of Palestinian excavation in thoroughly competent and readable form. There was still room, however, for a book which would describe the excavations themselves. The gap has now been filled by Professor C. C. McCown's book, *The Ladder of Progress in Palestine* (New York, Harper, 1943, xvi + 387 pp., with many plates, $3.50). The author is well known as director of the Palestine Institute of the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley; he is a distinguished biblical scholar, former director of the School in Jerusalem and now an associate trustee of the Schools; last but scarcely least, he is father of two able young scholars, the prehistorian, Dr. T. D. McCown of the University of California, and the Iranian archaeologist, Dr. D. E. McCown of the Oriental Institute of Chicago. Both have worked in Palestine and have assisted him in the preparation of the present volume. The book tells us how excavators go about their work, what they have found and how it bears on biblical and post-biblical history. A good third of the book is devoted to New Testament and subsequent times, which for the first time receive their fair share of attention in a work of this type. Written from first-hand control of the material are several chapters, including those on prehistoric antiquity and on the excavation of Tell en-Naṣbeh (the final report on which, in two massive volumes, is ready for press, edited by the author of the book before us), which specialists will greedily devour. Nor should we fail to mention the interesting style, enlivened by scores of delightful anecdotes, and the excellent bibliography appended to the book. Readers of McCown's book and of Burrows's recent volume (referred to above) will find themselves in a position to understand and appreciate the unprecedented recent progress of Palestinian archaeology and the even greater progress for which we hope.

The long-awaited first volume of the joint excavation at Samaria has at last appeared: *The Buildings at Samaria*, by J. W. Crowfoot, Kathleen M. Kenyon and E. L. Sukenik (London, Palestine Exploration Fund, 1942, xvi + 139 pp. with 89 plates and plans, £ 2). Most of the book has been written by Crowfoot himself; the other two authors have contributed important chapters and sections scattered through the volume. Though paper and format are less luxurious than they might have been in normal times, the result is throughout adequate. The text is sober and clear, while plans and photographs are technically satisfactory. The reviewer would very much like to discuss the chronology of Israelite Samaria in detail, but this cannot be done until Miss Kenyon has published the ceramic materials on which she has based her chronology of the stratigraphic sequences which she punctiliously excavated on the summit of the hill. At present we have only her statements about the chronology; her treatment of the pottery on which it is based will appear in the third and final volume of the publication. The reviewer accordingly postpones detailed discussion until the appearance of the third volume. We heartily con-

gratulate the distinguished author and his collaborators on an arduous task well done in spite of innumerable difficulties.

Forerunner (we hope) of a series of dissertations on the material excavated by Palestinian archaeologists, is Dr. James B. Pritchard's good monograph, *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known through Literature* (New Haven, American Oriental Society, 1943, vii + 101 pp., $1.75). Dr. Pritchard (now on the staff of Crozer Theological Seminary) is a pupil of Speiser; his interest in Palestinian archaeology dates back to a summer spent as member of the excavating staff at Bethel in 1934. He has given us a complete list of all published fertility ("Astarte") figurines from Palestine, an exhaustive survey of the facts known about the goddesses Anath, Asherah and Astarte from literary and documentary sources, and a digest of the comparative research hitherto accomplished. The student may be referred for supplementary data (not yet available when Pritchard's book was written) to the reviewer's *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1942), pp. 74 ff., 114 f.; *Annual* XXI-XXII (1943), pp. 69 f., with references to the plates; the most important new fact is that the Qudshu ("Kadesh") type can now be attached rather definitely to the Tyrian Asherah, thanks to an explicit statement in the Keret Epic of Ugarit.

With the appearance of the current double volume of the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Vols. XXI-XXII), the Tell Beit Mirsim publication is temporarily suspended, until further excavations have yielded new material (*Tell Beit Mirsim III: The Iron Age*, by W. F. Albright, with a chapter by J. L. Kelso and J. Palin Thorley, New Haven, 1943, xxvi + 229 pp. with 73 charts and plates, $4.00). Owing to numerous interruptions, the volume was not finally distributed until July. Attention may be called to an elaborate index of all four parts of this publication. Completion of the publication does not mean that the work is complete: technical studies of selected groups of material by Professor Kelso and collaborators will appear from time to time, as illustrated by his study of several sixteenth-century copper objects in this number of the BULLETIN. The reviewer omitted a number of things from the volume for lack of space (e. g., an account of the tribal history of Dura, collected by him from native informants).

II. Other Archaeological Fields

In the near future we may safely expect a remarkable expansion in the amount of publication in the general field of technological archaeology, as already foreshadowed by Kelso's studies. An extremely valuable study of Near-Eastern mural painting from the technical side has been published by Prentice Duell and Rutherford J. Gettens: "A Review of the Problem of Aegean Wall Painting" (*Technical Studies in the Field of the Fine Arts*, Vol. X, 1942, pp. 179-223, with many illustrations). The results are admittedly rather negative, but are still very significant, particularly because of the mass of fresh data from chemical and photomicrographic analysis. All students of Near-Eastern mural painting in the latter part of the Bronze Age must familiarize themselves with this monograph.

Mr. John D. Cooney, curator of the Egyptian collections of the Brooklyn Museum (now in military service), has just published a valuable survey of the material in the museum for *Late Egyptian and Coptic Art* (Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1943, 24 pp. + 54 plates, $1.00). Selected objects from the millennium beginning with Alexander's conquest and ending with the Moslem conquest are beautifully reproduced, with a general introduction and a scholarly description of the figured objects. The book is a model of its kind.

Far from the Near East lies an independent focus of civilization, which developed quite separately at a much later date. Though there are no direct connections between the civilizations of the Near East and of Middle America, comparative study is none the less both stimulating and suggestive; we may safely predict that it will have steadily growing significance for the philosophy of history. By far the best available brief sketch of the cultures of Mexico and Central America, clear and comprehensive, and superbly illustrated, is J. Alden Mason's *The Ancient Civilizations of Middle America*, illustrated from the *American Collections of the University Museum* of the University of Pennsylvania (*University Museum Bulletin*, Vol. 10, Nos. 1-2, 1943, 59 pp.). Readers of the BULLETIN of the Schools are referred to No. 90, p. 41, for reference to an equally recent and comprehensive survey of the

progress being made in prehistoric archaeology in the southwestern states of this country and elsewhere in the Americas.

III. Nuzian Studies

Ever since Chiera's first soundings at Yaghlan Tepe (Nuzi) in 1925, the Schools have had continuous part in the excavation and publication of the Nuzian archives, from the fifteenth century B. C. Thousands of tablets have been discovered and more than 1200 have by now been published (besides numerous studies utilizing material from the still unpublished documents). A major desideratum has been the complete publication of the thousands of personal names, mostly Hurrian, with which the tablets swarm. This task has now been accomplished in the most satisfactory way by Ignace J. Gelb, Pierre M. Purves and Allan A. MacRae (*Nuzi Personal Names, Oriental Institute Publications*, Vol. LVII, University of Chicago Press, 1943, xviii + 324 pp.). It is hard to select special features of this work to praise: every aspect seems equally meritorious. The list of names exhausts published material and draws on unpublished documentation for the elucidation of obscurities. All published occurrences of each name and its spellings are carefully listed, with unusual accuracy considering the vast mass of references. The names are then philologically analyzed, with such critical precision and minuteness that the volume represents a mine of material for students of Accadian as well as of Hurrian (Biblical Horite). The most interesting single body of names is Indo-Iranian (a designation to which the reviewer adheres tenaciously, believing that the evidence for specifically Indo-Aryan origin is fallacious); the number of these names is greatly increased by this publication, and linguists now have a reliable record of them, as well as suggestions for their phonetic and semantic interpretation. The reviewer has consulted the volume many times since he received it, a few weeks before these lines were written, and has found it invaluable. The execution of the volume is technically superb, and the utilization of space will silence the most captious critic of waste in scholarly publication. In the formats usual for this type of publication, the book would have contained at least twice as many pages and would have been much more expensive.

Dr. Francis R. Steele of the University of Pennsylvania Museum has published an excellent dissertation from the school of Speiser (*Nuzi Real Estate Transactions*, New Haven, American Oriental Society, 1943, iv + 83 pp., $1.75). This monograph is an admirable proof of the extraordinary value for economic history which the Nuzian documents possess. Steele brings very strong arguments to bear against Mrs. Lewy's interpretation of the "sale-adoption" transactions as feudal in character; together with Lacheman's unpublished data his objections seem fatal to the feudal theory. (It cannot, of course, be denied that the Mitannian state was feudal, but there is nothing to show that Hurrian society was feudal in structure, and the Nuzi district was not absorbed into the Mitannian empire until late—and then only ephemerally.)—Another excellent study from the school of Speiser has just been published by Dr. Herbert Liebesny (reprinted from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1943, pp. 128-144): "The Administration of Justice in Nuzi." Since the author is himself an expert in Hellenistic and Roman law, this monograph is based on a rare combination of juristic and cuneiform competence in a single man. Such matters as judicial organization, the courts, parties to litigation, trial procedure and verdicts are well handled. Since Nuzian culture has for some time been known to have been more closely related than any other known Mesopotamian to the culture of the Patriarchal Age of Israel, this new material is likely to open up unexpected prospects in the study of the administration of justice in early Palestine and Syria.

IV. Other Cuneiform Research

From the school of Goetze at Yale comes an exemplary thesis, Dr. John Bruce Alexander's *Early Babylonian Letters and Economic Texts* (*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, Vol. VII, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1943, vii + 39 pp. with 74 plates, $5.00). In all 223 documents from the collection brought together by Dr. Nies (to whom the Schools owe an imperishable debt) are admirably published. They date from 1834 to 1566 B. C., employing the new low chronology based on the Khorsabad List and the Venus data of Ammiṣaduqa

(BULLETIN, No. 88, pp. 28 ff.). The most interesting single item appears to be a command of king Rîm-Sin to four men of Larsa: "Because they threw a young slave into an oven, throw ye a slave into a furnace!" There are many West-Semitic names, including *Pa-al-sí-ia* (so!), on which cf. BULLETIN, No. 82, p. 47, n. 26. Note also *Sangarûm*, probably a man from Sangar, now Sinjâr.

Dr. Isaac Mendelsohn of Columbia University has published a *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the Libraries of Columbia University* (*Catalogue Series, Number One, Columbia University Libraries*, 1943, 84 mimeographed pages with 7 offset plates). All of the significant material is listed in 380 numbers; the balance consists of insignificant fragments and uninscribed pieces. Let us hope that this good example will soon be followed by curators of all remaining smaller collections throughout the world; the value for specialists of such catalogues is very great, since it enables them to gather all pertinent data in any cuneiform field without waste of time.

V. HISTORY, LITERATURE AND RELIGION OF THE NEAR EAST

Dr. Cyrus H. Gordon, author of the invaluable *Ugaritic Grammar* (1940), follows it with a little popular book, *The Loves and Wars of Baal and Anat and Other Poems from Ugarit* (Princeton University Press, 1943, xvii + 47 pp., $1.50). Beautifully printed in large type and elegantly bound, this book is an excellent popular introduction to Ugaritic literature; there are no foot-notes and no transliterated words to worry the non-specialist. Gordon includes a brief general introduction, with bibliographic indications, etc., and devotes the rest of the booklet to translations of all longer passages which are well enough preserved and clear enough in detail to warrant reproduction in a publication of this kind. Doubtful words are in italics. In general the reviewer endorses the translations, which have had the great advantage of Dr. H. L. Ginsberg's criticism; too recent for the author to utilize is the corrected rendering of Keret, I, lines 79 ff., given provisionally in the current *Annual* of the Schools, p. 24, n. 9.

(*to be continued*)

COMMUNICATION TO OWNERS OF CUNEIFORM OBJECTS

During the last fifty years Mesopotamian antiquities, both inscribed clay tablets and archaeological objects, notably seal cylinders, have been brought to this country in considerable numbers. They are scattered over all the country in libraries, museums, and in the hands of private collectors. All these pieces are source material for the political and cultural history of the Ancient Orient. Experience has shown that among them are unique pieces of great scientific value. It seems time that these documents should be made accessible to science. For this purpose it is planned to conduct a survey and to compile a union list of all this material. As a preparatory step, all those who own such objects, even if only a few, are herewith invited to communicate with: Albrecht Goetze (or Ferris J. Stephens), Babylonian Collection, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.

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